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Terrien de Lacouperie

Beginnings of Writing

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BEGINNINGS OF WRITING

IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN ASIA,

OR

NOTES ON 450 EMBRYO-WRITINGS AND SCRIPTS.

BY

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE,

Ph.D. and Litt.D. (Lovan.); Laureate of the Institut de France (Académie des Inscriptions, 1889-1893); Professor of Indo-Chinese Philology (late of University Coll. Lond.); Member Hon. Royal Asiatic Society; Author of "The Languages of China before the Chinese" (1887), "The Oldest Book of the Chinese" (1892), "British Museum Catalogue of the Ancient Chinese Coins" (1892), "Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization" (1894), etc.; Director of the Babylonian and Oriental Record, etc.

Reprint of the 1894 edition

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OTTO ZELLER
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INTRODUCTORY.

THE present work is made up of several parts, which have been printed successively since 1885. The pages 1–67 are reprints from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1885, vol. xvii. pp. 415–482. Pages 68–144, printed in 1887, have never been published; and pages 145–189, long left in type, were as much as possible re-cast in January of the present year, thanks to the kindness of Messrs. Stephen Austin and Sons, the long famous Oriental printers of Hertford. The result in the work is a great inequality, which a complete alphabetical index of the writings referred to is intended to obviate to a certain extent.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

FULHAM, JUNE, 1894.

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„	15, l. 12, 13,	„	(6, 18, and 20)
„	18, l. 8,	„	of whom
„	28, n. 5,	„	not in ancient Tamil
„	31, l. 13,	„	Captain Calder
„	„ l. 21,	„	vid. § 266.
„	38, l. 13,	„	pitch, otherwise "tone,"
„	„ l. 14,	„	of the single
„	41, n. 1, l. 2,	„	p. 207
„	42, n. 1, l. 2,	„	and Batang
„	57, n. 3,	„	Bk. 801, f. 1 *v.*,
„	81, l. 26,	„	to Loulan,
„	82, l. 14,	„	Buddhists after 445 A.D., and one
„	86, l. 7,	„	858 to 1337.
„	94, l. 6,	„	*A Vertical writing in Ceylon or Java?*
„	108, l. 2,	„	*Kangku* or Samarcand,
„	114, l. 8,	„	from North-East
„	121, l. 14,	„	distinct works.
„	123, l. 6,	„	pilgrim had remarked
„	„ l. „	„	at Akni (Yenki = Karashar) Kutche
„	„ l. 10,	„	*The Sulek and other writings.*
„	124, l. 29,	„	Maverennahar or Transoxian
„	126, l. 25,	„	*In South-East Asia.*
„	127, l. 7,	„	Emperor Shêng Tsu Jîn (K'ang-hi).

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BEGINNINGS OF WRITING.

I.—Embryo Writings.

1. Man writes, as he speaks, by a special aptness of his nature. As a consequence he has used all sorts of methods and devices which are now in practice, more or less, for the transmission of thought by images, symbols, or arbitrary signs. Rude systems of writing are found everywhere in use, survival, or tradition. Many more have totally disappeared in course of time, superseded by some preferable system, either more advanced or better fitted to the surrounding circumstances. It is not a necessity of nature that these low means of communication should always be pictorial. Conventional marks used alone or in connection with figures play quite as great a part as images among these embryonic writings. And combinations of material and conventional symbols are frequently met.

From the embryo writings, consisting either of material or symbolical objects carved, delineated, and drawn, or of symbolical or conventional signs like marks, strokes, and lines, the genealogical development of *phonetic writing* begins by the substitution of the sign of one idea for that of another whose sound is nearly or quite the same. Such were the early graphic systems of Egypt and of Babylonia, and such

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substantially to-day is that of the Chinese. Above this stands *syllabic writing*, evolved from the use of the sign of one idea to represent the sound of its first syllable and from the neglect and oblivion of its idea which entails a corruption of its original graphic shape. Such were those of the Cypriotes, of the Ancient Persians (Cuneif.), of the Japanese, and the semi-syllabic signs of the old Semitic Alphabet. The perfect result of these various attempts is the invention of a true alphabet in which a definite sign corresponds to a definite elementary sound. The Corean is the only real alphabet of Eastern Asia.

2. The many devices made use of for these low means of communication or embryonic writings, may be classified into a double division: of (A) material objects or symbols, and of (B) symbolical or conventional signs.

(A) The material or symbolical objects are either

(*a*) used singly;
(*b*) strung together;
(*c*) fastened on knotted sticks or knotted cords;
(*d*) fixed on a board; or
(*e*) carved, delineated, or drawn.

(B) The symbolical or conventional signs consist of

I. (*a*) twigs, reeds, pebbles, goats' dung variously placed;
(*b*) netted beans (like the *wampum* in N. America);
(*c*) knotted cords (like the Quippus of Peru);
II. (*d*) notched sticks;
(*e*) marks on stones, like cup-marks, lines, etc.;
(*f*) strokes and lines of all sorts.

A. *Objects: (a) used singly.*

3. Material objects sent singly are, of course, the most handy system for low-cultured tribes to communicate out of

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sight and ear. Such, for instance, was the system in use among the Scythians at the time of Darius's campaign against them.[1] Pherecydes of Heros relates that Idanthuras the Scythian King, when Darius had crossed the Ister, threatened him with war, sending him not a letter, but a symbol, which was a mouse, a frog, a bird, an arrow, and a plough. When there was (not unnaturally) much doubt concerning the meaning of this message, Orontopagas, the Chiliarch, maintained that it was a surrender of the empire; for he conjectured the mouse to mean their dwellings, the frog their waters, the bird their air, the arrow their arms, and the plough their country. But Xiphodres interpreted it differently, for he explained it thus:—"Unless like birds we fly aloft, or like mice burrow under ground, or like frogs take ourselves to the water, we shall never escape their weapons; for we are not masters of their country."

Herodotus tells another version of the same story.[2]

4. On the Tibeto-Chinese frontier, the Lu-tze and the Li-su have still means of communication of the same kind.

The Lu-tze, being unable to read or write, have arranged with the Chinese a sort of code of signals or tokens, by which important messages are carried to and fro between them.

[1] In Clem. Alex. *Stromat*, v. pp. 671-672 (ed. Potter, Venice, 1757), quoted in G. Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus*, 3rd edit. vol. iii. pp. 105-106, *n*.

[2] I extract the following sections of bk. iv. (transl. Rawlinson):

"The Scythians had willingly exposed some of their cattle to be seized by the Persians, in order to attack them in a trap.

"131. This they did several times, until at last Darius was at his wits' end; hereon the Scythian princes, understanding how matters stood, despatched a herald to the Persian camp with presents for the King: these were a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bearer to tell them what these gifts might mean, but he made answer that he had no orders except to deliver them, and return again with all speed. If the Persians were wise, he added, they would find out the meaning for themselves. So when they heard this, they held a council to consider the matter.

"132. Darius gave it as his opinion, that the Scyths intended a surrender of themselves and their country, both land and water, into his hands. This he conceived to be the meaning of the gifts, because the mouse is an inhabitant of the earth, and eats the same food as man, while the frog passes his life in the water; the bird bears a great resemblance to the horse, and the arrows might signify the surrender of all their power. To the explanation of Darius, Gobryas, one of the seven conspirators against the Magus, opposed another, which was as follows:—'Unless, Persians, ye can turn into birds and fly up into the sky, or become mice and burrow under the ground, or make yourselves frogs, and take refuge in the fens, ye will never make escape from this land, but die pierced by our arrows.' Such were the meanings which the Persians assigned to the gifts."

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For example, a piece of chicken liver, three pieces of chicken fat, and a chili, wrapped in red paper, means, "Prepare to fight at once." [1]

Among the Tibetans themselves, a system of the same kind existed formerly. In the Chinese description of the seventh century, speaking of an earlier period, it is reported that: "for collecting warriors they use gold arrows. They use a gold arrow seven inches long as a sign of office. There is a post-station every hundred *li*. If the war be important, the courier carries also on his breast a silver hawk; if of urgent importance, several of these hawks." [2]

(*b*) *Strung together.*

5. Of material or symbolical objects strung together, I do not know any instance in Tibet or the neighbouring regions, but the practice is now current among the negroes of Gambia and Guinea, on the Western Coast of Africa. There, a log, a stone, a feather, or other things, are strung together, and sent as messages.[3]

The somewhat similar, though different custom of the Kakhyens, on the South-Eastern borders of Tibet, is rather of a higher standard.[4] They hang on strings, stretching across the pathway to their villages, small stars of split rattan and other emblems.[5]

(*c*) *On sticks or strings.*

6. The following instance in the same region of Tibeto-China is of a mixed character and belongs to our *A* (*c*) class. The use of material objects is combined with that of

[1] T. T. Cooper, *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*, p. 310.

[2] Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet*, pp. 440–1 (*J.R.A.S.* Vol. XII. 1880).

[3] Capt. C. A. Moloney, C.M.G., of Bathurst (Gambia), has collected some very valuable information on this custom.—*Vid.* also an interesting paper in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute.*

[4] *Vid.* Shway Yoe, *The Kachyens*—See below § 72.

[5] The custom of wearing symbolical objects in a necklace, which are seen on the figures of Assyrian kings, is perhaps a superstitious revival of this early system. Anyhow, it is interesting to see many, if not all of these signs and emblems among the zodiacal? signs of the land-mark stones, a dozen of which are in the British Museum. And it is very suggestive to meet them among the written-in-relief Hittite hieroglyphics. *Vid.* below, § 7.

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notched sticks. When the Li-su are minded to rebel, they send to the Mo-so chief (who rules them on behalf of the Chinese Government) what the Chinese call a *Muh-k'i*[1] and the Tibetans a *Shing-tchram*.[2] It is a stick with knife-cut notches. Some symbols are fastened to it, such, for instance, as a feather, calcined wood, a little fish, etc., etc. The bearer must explain the meaning of the notches and symbols. The notches may indicate the number of hundreds or thousands of soldiers who are coming; the feather shows that they arrive with the swiftness of a bird; the burnt wood, that they will set fire to everything on their way; the fish, that they will throw everybody into the water, etc., etc. This custom is largely used among all the savage tribes of the region. It is also the usual manner in which chiefs transmit their orders.[3]

(*d*, *e*) *Fixed, carved, or drawn.*

7. The fixing of the objects, material or symbolical, in nature or in figure, on a board, is the stepping-stone to the more advanced systems. Carving hieroglyphics, *i.e.* the above objects in relief, or delineating them on a board, are the intermediary systems which in a tangible way lead to the drawing or painting of a hieroglyphical writing. I do not know any historical record describing the practice as I have put it; but it is almost impossible that something of the kind should not have been naturally in use as a consequence of the more simple systems. Objects fastened on notched sticks or knotted cords could not do for long records. The system of writing in relief which appears among the oldest specimens hitherto known of the hieroglyphics of Egypt seems to me a survival of this old process. And the relief system in the Hittite inscriptions,—whatever may be their early connection by derivation or imitation from the Egyptian writing,—are perhaps also survivals of a native process in

[1] *Muh-k'i* 木契.
[2] *Shing* = piece of wood.
[3] Cf. *Les sauvages Lyssous du Lou-tze Kiang*, par l'Abbé Dubernard, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, 1875, t. x. pp. 55-66.

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earlier times. So, too, the relief of the Himyaritic or Sabean inscriptions, which is not explained away by any influence of casting, may be also a survival from a writing, perhaps similar to the Hittite system, which may have preceded the adoption of the Semitic writing in which they are written. All this is speculation, but perhaps not idle, and may help to the solution of moot questions, as we know not what future discoveries may disclose, on these interesting problems of origin.

8. We have only to register here hieroglyphics incised or drawn. Some hieroglyphical graffitti have been discovered on rocks above Tomsk, on the right bank of the Tom river in Siberia.[1] They are incised at a height of more than twenty feet. They are very rude, and somewhat like the famous *Livre de Sauvages* of merry fame in palæography. Quadrupeds, men, heads, all roughly drawn, and some indistinct lines, are all that can be seen. It looks more like the pictorial figures which can be used as a means of notation by ignorant people at any moment, than like an historical beginning of some writing. There is not the slightest appearance of any sort of regularity or conventional arrangement in them.

9. No genuinely historical hieroglyphics have hitherto been found in China. This interesting peculiarity is not, however, surprising in face of recent researches which show that the Chinese Bak tribes brought the knowledge of writing with them when they migrated into China, and that this writing possessed at the time an historical antiquity of some two thousand years.[2] The Chinese did not stretch eastwards to the sea-shore till four or five centuries after their entry into N.W. China. The region towards the sea remained for many centuries afterwards still sporadically occupied by the former aborigines.[3]

[1] J. Spassky, *De Antiquis quibusdam sculpturis et inscriptionibus in Siberia repartis*, Petropoli, 1822; L. de Rosny, *Archives Paléographiques*, p. 144, pl. xiii.—Vid. our remarks on other graffitti of Siberia, below § 32.

[2] Cf. below §§ 46, 47, 49.

[3] It is not improbable that one or another of the aboriginal group of tribes possessed a rough kind of writing, at the pictorial stage, such as is found everywhere, and that something of this writing may have crept into the more perfect

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10. It is apparently to the art of the aboriginal non-Chinese that the following inscription belongs, should it be proved to be primitive; and it is the only precise mention I have ever found of the kind in my researches.

Outside of Li-tch'eng (in N. Shantung[1]), at some 500 li on the west towards the north, is a stone cliff mountain,[2] on the upper part of which may be seen marks and lines representing animals and horses. They are numerous and well drawn, like a picture.[3]

11. Hieroglyphical inscriptions in Japan are mentioned by several authors,[4] but I am not aware that any copy or facsimile of them has been published anywhere. In a Japanese work, the *Giji Hen*,[5] some facsimiles are given of characters and inscriptions of fanciful forms, among which some might be considered as pictorial, though I dare say the whole lack sufficient indications of genuine antiquity.

12. From these vague and unsatisfactory legends, we come now to more tangible matter. It is the existence now-a-days of a hieroglyphical writing, preserved by the sorcerers of the Mo-so, a tribe of Tibeto-China. It might be a late invention. It might be an ancient one. Nobody knows. But it is not unlikely that the truth is between the two. The writing apparently contains survivals of an ancient and undeveloped system of communication by written hieroglyphics. As the third section of this paper deals with this writing, we must leave the matter for the present.

B. *Signs:* I. (*a*)—*used singly.*

13. In the second category of the embryonic means of

system brought by the early Chinese rulers. We know that some of these tribes did use knotted cords and notched sticks, but we have no tidings of any other sort of writing than these besides the cup-marks on the river cliffs, which seem to have been found in China by the new comers.—Vid. below § 33.

[1] *Lih-tcheng*, 歷城, lat. 36° 40′, long. 117° 01′. Vid. *Addenda.*

[2] 石崖山.

[3] *Shui-king* 水經 comm.; *Tai Ping yü lan*, bk. 50, f. 7.

[4] L. de Rosny (*Archives paléographiques*, p. 233) possesses a fac-simile of an old inscription in hieroglyphics from Japan.—Léon Mentchnikoff, *L'Empire Japonais*, p. 200.

[5] Hirata Atsutane, *Giji Hen* (1819, 8vo.), ff.

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communication we have put first the use of twigs, reeds, stones, beans, goats' dung, etc., variously placed.

The Tang-hiang in the N.W. of Tibet had no written characters in the sixth century, and only arranged reeds and pieces of wood to remember the seasons. They boast with the Tang-tchang and Pöh-Lang of being descendants of a monkey.[1] One of their six most important tribes bore the famous surname of Tu-pöt, and it is from the same stock that came Tupöt Fanni,[2] the conqueror of Tibet, as we shall see below.[3]

Down to 402 A.D. the Ju-Juan people of Tartary, not without relation with the Tang-hiang, used to take goats' dung, and dispose it in a certain fashion on the ground to indicate what they wanted to record.[4]

14. A recent account of Formosa states that the aborigines ignore writing. "They have not even any means of keeping time, and when they have made an appointment for any date, their only means of keeping a check on the days as they pass is by means of a tally of stones or grass, one stone or one knot in the grass representing a day."[5]

In Timor Island, according to the Chinese records in 1618,[6] the people had no writing; when they wanted to record something, they did it with flat stones, and a thousand stones were represented by a string.[7]

Before the time of their acquaintance with the Quippus, the Peruvians used in the same way pebbles or maize-beans of various colours.[8]

Such a practice was not unknown in Europe in the prehistoric period.[9]

[1] *Sui Shu*, or Annals of the Sui Dynasty (A.D. 581-618); *Tai Ping yü Lan* (Cyclopædia of 983 A.D.), bk. 795, f. 3. They were the ancestors of the Tangut.—*Vid.* also S. W. Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet*, loc. cit. p. 528.

[2] *T'ang Shu*, ibid.

[3] *Vid.* below § 86.

[4] De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. part 2, pp. 337–8.

[5] A. R. Colquhoun, J. H. Stewart Lockhart, *A Sketch of Formosa* (1884, Hong Kong), Excerpta, p. 203.

[6] *Tung si yang kao*, bk. iv.

[7] Groenevelt, *Malay Archipelago*, p. 117. *Vid.* below § 39, n. 4.

[8] H. Wuttke, *Die Entstehung der Schrift.*

[9] Dans certains endroits on a remarqué parmi les alluvions quaternaires, a côté d'armes de pierre de travail humain et de cailloux perforés pour former des grains

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B. II. (*b*) *Beans or Pebbles strung or netted.*

15. Strung or netted beans and pebbles (*B. b*) are not used, as far as I know, among the rude systems once in practice around Tibet. Unless we understand, as meaning something of the kind, the records in gold and turquoises in which the sages of Tibet are reported to have glorified their first King.[1]

The *gaionné, garthona,* or *garsuenda* of the Red Skin Americans belongs to that class.[2] So too the *wampum* belts of the Iroquois.[3]

B. II. (*c*) *Knotted Cords.*

16. Knotted cords were originally used in Tibet, but we have no information about their system of using them. The bare statement comes from the Chinese annals.[4]

17. It is commonly reported that the ancient Chinese used,

de colliers en de bracelets et servir de parures, des groupes d'autres cailloux remarquables par leur formes bizarres, leurs couleurs variées, certains hazards de mesure. Ces groupes ont été formés intentionnellement par la main de l'homme, ou n'en saurait douter quand ou les trouve en place, et d'un autre côté les cailloux qui les composent n'ont été utilisés ni comme instruments ni comme parures." *Vid.* Fr. Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne*, 9th edit. vol. i. p. 401.

[1] See below § 88.

[2] They consisted in necklaces of beans, the differences of which were suggestive of the intended meaning.

[3] "'This belt preserves my words' was a common remark of an Iroquois chief in council. He then delivered the belt as the evidence of what he had said. Several such belts would be given in the course of a negociation to the opposite party. In the reply of the latter, a belt would be returned for each proposition accepted. The Iroquois experienced the necessity for an exact record of some kind of proposition involving their faith and honour in its execution, and they devised this method to place it beyond dispute." — Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 139. "Among other things, the ancient wampum belts, into which the structure and principles of the confederacy 'had been talked,' to use their expression, were produced and read, or interpreted for the instruction of the newly inducted sachem. A wise man, not necessarily one of the sachems, read from them the facts which they recorded. According to the Indian conception, these belts can tell, by means of an interpreter, the exact rule, provision, or transaction talked into them at the time, and of which they were the exclusive record. A strand of wampum consisting of strings of purple and white shell beads, or a belt woven with figures formed of beads of different colours, operated on the principle of associating a particular fact with a particular string or figure; thus giving a serial arrangement to the facts as well as fidelity to the memory. These strands and belts of *wampum* were the only visible records of the Iroquois; but they required trained interpreters who could draw from their strings and figures the records locked up in their remembrance."—*Ibid.* p. 143.

[4] Vid. *Tang Shu* in Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet*, p. 400. And below § 88.

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before the invention of writing, and previous to that of the Kwas by Fuh-hi, a system of knotted cords invented by a ruler of the mythical period named Sui-jin.[1] Now it results from my researches that this tradition, which crept lately into Chinese compilations,[2] is no historical truth, so far as Sui-jin and the ancient Chinese are concerned. By ancient Chinese I mean the Bak tribes who brought the knowledge of written characters with them into the Flowery Land, and not the aboriginal tribes non-Chinese, which had apparently the said custom of knotted cords.

18. The name of Sui-jin is not connected with the invention of knotted cords in the various traditions collected about this person and his invention of fire-drill, in the *Tai ping yü lan* published in A.D. 983.[3] Neither was it in existence when Sze-ma Tcheng (circ. A.D. 720) wrote his introduction to the *She Ki* of Sze-ma Tsien.[4] We only find in the latter that Fuh-hi invented writing instead of the knotted cords in former use.

The oldest statement about the subject is that which we find in the great appendix to the Yh-King, commonly attributed to Confucius, but which is certainly not the work of the Sage and has a flavour of later conjecture.[5] There we read: "In the highest antiquity knotted cords were used for the administration of government. In subsequent ages the sages substituted, for these, writing by notches."[6] There is no name quoted for this change in this statement. And we

[1] H. Wuttke, *Die Entstehung der Schrift*, p. 243.—L. de Rosny, *La Civilisation Japonaise* (Paris, 1883, 18mo.), pp. 130-131.

[2] *Tung Kien Kang muh* (circ. 1180 A.D.), De Mailla, *Histoire generale de la Chine*, i. 4.—*Kang Kien y tchi luh* by Wu-shing Kiuen (1711 A.D).—*Kang Kien tcheng she yoh* (1737 A.D.), i. f. 3.

[3] Cf. bk. 78, ff. 2-3.

[4] *San Hwang pun ki*, f. 1, where the substitution of *shu-k'i* to knotted cords by Fuh-hi is mentioned without reference to Sui-jin.

[5] *Yh-King; hi tze*, ii. 23. It is also found in the *Tao teh King*.

[6] i.e. *Shu K'i* 書契 said to mean: "written contracts." On the interpretation of this expression cf. *Tai-ping yü-lan*, bk. 747, ff. 1, 5; and *Yuen Kien luy han*, bk. 325, f. 16; where an explanation by Shin tze (400 B.C.) is quoted. This is a forced interpretation, as *K'i* is nothing else than "notches." Cf. *The Six Scripts*, a translation by L. C. Hopkins (Amoy, 1881), p. 6. Mr. T. Watters, in the second of his valuable *Essays on the Chinese Language*, translates it by "indentures," which is half-way between the original meaning and the moral sense afterwards imputed to the *K'i*.

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find it in a section of the above appendix, where the writer has fancied inventions and progresses of all sorts as being suggested by an examination of the *Kwas* of the Yh-King. Now the Kwas are these very writing-notches which were substituted for the knotted cords of former times; so that they could not suggest their own invention.

19. This shows the childishness of the speculations attempted by the Chinese author; it recalls to mind a similar attempt in one of the latest additional sections of the *Shan Haï King*, the sacred book of the mountains and seas, where the statements do not agree with those of the above appendix. It is, however, highly interesting for history to find such allusions at so early a date, as the author could not have spoken of realities as knotted cords and notched sticks should he not have heard of them being in use at some time and somewhere. But is the tradition referring to the Pre-Chinese Bak tribes previous to their migration eastwards and before they learned writing? or is it a combination made by the writer, based upon his knowledge or hear-say of such customs among the aboriginal tribes of China? The answer to the question would entail an inquiry of such length that we had better leave it as it stands until a further opportunity.

20. The *Yang tung*, south of Khoten and consequently north of Tibet, who first communicated with China in A.D. 641, had no written characters; they only cut notches in sticks and tied knots in strings for records.[1]

The Bratyki and Buriats of Siberia are credited with the use of knotted cords.[2]

The Japanese are also reputed to have employed knots on strings or bind-weeds for records.[3]

[1] *Tung tien* by Tu yu (850 A.D.) in *Tai ping yü lan*, bk. 798, f. 7 v. Also Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet*, loc. cit. p. 527.

[2] A. Maury, *Origine de l'Écriture*, in *Journal des Savants*, Avril, 1875, p. 217. Wuttke, *Die Entstehung der Schrift*, p. 143, where other examples are quoted. And also Remusat, *Recherches sur les langues Tartares*, i. 65-6.

[3] Léon Mentchnikoff, *L'Empire Japonais*, p. 200.—M. Léon de Rosny, *Etudes Asiatiques de Geographie et d'Histoire*, p. 4, mentions the knotted cords and notched sticks in Japan. I do not find any reference to this custom in the exhaustive and scholarly introduction of Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain to his careful translation of the *Ko-ji-Ki* (Yokohama, 1883, 8vo.). Mr. C. Satow, in his

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The *Li* of Hainan, of whom we shall have to speak further on, being unacquainted with writing, according to Chinese sources, use knotted cords or notched sticks in place of bonds or agreements.[1]

21. Such is also the case with the Sonthals of Bengal. "Their accounts are either notches on a stick, like those formerly used by the rustics for keeping scores at cricket matches in country villages in England, or knots on a piece of grass string, or a number of bits of straw tied together."[2]

"I well remember my astonishment[3] while trying my first case between a grasping Mahajun and a Sonthal, when I ordered them to produce their accounts. . . . The Sonthal produced from his back hair—where it had been kept, I suppose, for ornament—a dirty bit of knotted grass string, and threw it on the table, requesting the court to count that, as it had got too long for him. Each knot represented a rupee, a longer space between two knots represented the lapse of a year."[4]

22. In the first half of the present century, cord-records were still generally used in the Indian Archipelago and Polynesia proper. The tax-gatherers in the Island of Hawaii by this means kept accounts of all the articles collected by them from the inhabitants. A rope 400 fathoms long was used as a revenue book. It was divided into numerous portions corresponding to the various districts of the island; the portions were under the care of the tax-gatherers, who with the aid of loops, knots and tufts of different shapes, colours and sizes, were enabled to keep an accurate account of the

essay on the *Transliteration of the Japanese Syllabary*, in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (vol. vii. pp. 226–60), has collected and discussed all the authentic information concerning early Japanese writing.

[1] *Kiung shan hien tchi*; *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, vol. i. p. 83. J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge* (Paris, 1882, vol. ii. 8vo.), i. p. 512.

[2] *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, by E. J. Man,. late Assistant Commissioner, Sonthal Pergunnahs (Calcutta, 1867, 8vo.), p. 42.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 75.—"Some method of calculation by means of knotted cords exists among the Sonthals of Bengal, and is mentioned in the Report on the Census for 1872."—Herbert R. Giles, *Historic China and other Sketches* (London, 1882, 8vo.), p. 3.

[4] Darius (Herodot. iv. 98) made something of the kind, when he took a thong, and tying sixty knots in it, gave it to the Ionian chiefs, that they might untie a knot every day, and go back to their own land if he had not returned when all the knots were undone.

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hogs, pigs, and pieces of sandal wood, etc., at which each person was taxed.[1]

Polynesia was the way through which apparently the custom of knotted-cord records reached the new world. The remarkable instance of dissemination we have to quote further on about the Easter Island inscriptions is highly suggestive of such a fact. It is by the Peruvians that the cord system of mnemonics was carried to the greatest perfection,[2] and the name of *quippus* they gave to them might be taken as a generic appellative for the system.

B. II. (*d*) *Notched sticks.*

23. We have had occasion in former paragraphs (11, 17, and 20) to mention the use of notched sticks. It is useless to repeat here the statements quoted above on this

[1] Cf. Wuttke, *op. cit.* p. 143.—C. F. Keary, *The Dawn of History*, p. 181.

[2] "The quippu was a cord about two feet long, composed of different coloured threads tightly twisted together, from which a quantity of smaller threads were suspended in the manner of fringe. The threads were of different colours and were tied into knots. The word *quipu*, indeed, signifies a knot. The colours denoted sensible objects; as, for instance, *white* represented *silver*, and *yellow gold*. They sometimes also stood for abstract ideas. Thus, *white* signified *peace*, and *red war*. But the quipus were chiefly used for arithmetical purposes. The knots served instead of ciphers, and could be combined in such a manner as to represent numbers to any amount required. By means of these they went through their calculations with great rapidity, and the Spaniards who first visited the country bear testimony to their accuracy."—Vid. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, vol. i. chap. iv. "On the quipus devoted to population, the coloured strings on which the number of men in each town and village was recorded had depending from them little strings for the widowers, and no doubt the widows and the old maids had their little strings from the coloured cord that denoted women. One knot meant ten; a double knot one hundred; two singles side by side twenty; two doubles two hundred; and the position of the knots on their string and their form were also of immense importance, each subject having its proper place on the quipus and its proper form of knot. The art of learning to read quipus must have been difficult to acquire; it was practised by special functionaries, called quipucamayocuna, or knot officers, who, however, seemed only able to expound their own records; for when a quipu was sent from a distant province to the capital, its own guardian had to travel with it to explain it."—Cf. C. F. Keary, *The Dawn of History*, pp. 181, 182. Sometimes instead of knots the little strings of various colours were of the most elaborate character; they represented all sorts of objects—suns, stars, waxing and waning moons, rainbows, birds, animals, lizards, fruits, and even pandean pipes.—Vide illustrations, p. 20, in L. de Rosny, *Les Ecritures Figuratives et Hiéroglyphiques*.—On the quippus, vide H. Wuttke, *Die Entstehung der Schrift*, pp. 179–190. "The messages from the Inca were indicated by a characteristic red string. At the end of the last century the Spaniards, advised in proper time, prevented a general insurrection of their Peruvian subjects; the intended rebels had communicated between themselves by quippus, the date, orders, and details of the rising."—Julien Vinson, in *Dictionnaire d'Anthropologie* (Paris, 1885, 8vo.), p. 407.

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custom among the ancient Chinese, the Li of Haī-nan, the Yang-tung (N. of Tibet), and the Li-so of Tibeto-China. The current expression which connects the notched sticks and knotted cords in the Chinese descriptions of uncivilized tribes, looks like one of those stereotyped compound idioms so numerous in their language. The hearsay of one of the two processes may have been sometimes a sufficient reason to employ the well-known expression. Perhaps we must not accept, without some reserve for the said reason, the Chinese statement of the use in ancient Tibet of knotted cords and notched sticks,[1] which is given in the very terms we put in suspicion. One of the two statements is certainly exact, but we dare not be so confident about the double assertion.

24. Marco Polo, in his account of the province of Zardandan (Western Yunnan), relates that, "When these people have any business transactions with one another, they take a piece of stick, round or square, and split it, each taking half. And on either half they cut two or three notches. And when the account is settled, the debtor receives back the other half of the stick from the creditor."[2]

Dr. John Anderson, in his *Report on the Expedition to Western Yunan viâ Bhamo,* gives some interesting information, taken *in situ,* on the same subject:

"The use of tallies to which the great traveller[3] refers is still prevalent among the Kakhyens and Shans. A slip of bamboo, about eight inches long, is fractured at intervals. The fractures are simple, and do not separate from each other."

And further on he speaks of a Momein messenger who was anxious to get away: ". . . . he was continually referring to the small bamboo tally on which he had marked off the days as they had passed. It was the same as in use among the Kakhyens, a thin strip of bamboo broken across at intervals."[4]

[1] Bushell, *The Early History of Tibet*, l.c. p. 440.
[2] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. Yule, 1874, vol. ii. p. 74.
[3] Marco Polo.
[4] Calcutta, 1874, 8vo. pp. 36, 270.

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25. Sir Arthur Phayre has related a curious instance of the same custom: [1]

"In the year 1863 the Tsaubwa (or Prince) of a Shan province adjoining Yunnan was in rebellion against the Burmese Government. He wished to enter into communication with the British Government. He sent a messenger to a British officer with a letter tendering his allegiance, and, accompanying his letter, was a piece of bamboo, about five inches long. This had been split down the middle, so that the two pieces fitted closely together, forming a tube in the original shape of the bamboo. A notch at one end included the edges of both pieces, showing that they were a pair. The messenger said that if the reply was favourable, one of the pieces was to be returned and the other kept. I need hardly say the messenger received no written reply, and both pieces of bamboo were retained."

26. The custom of notching sticks was prevalent among the aboriginal tribes of China. A Chinese writer of the middle of the seventeenth century describes it as follows:— "The notches of the *Muh-k'i*, like the checks (of the Chinese), are used for fixing covenants. The *Miao-jen*, though having written characters, are not all competent to write; so that when they make a business contract, they notch a stick as a proof of their respective good faith." [2]

The Chinese annals of the Tang Dynasty,[3] describing in the seventh century the *Sie* and other aboriginal tribes of a large region (of which the west of modern Kueitchou province may be considered as the centre), say of the *Sie*, that they had no written characters, and that they use to make notches on wood for their contracts.[4] About the other tribes the statement that they had no written characters does not appear,[5] but that of the notched sticks stands.

[1] Quoted from a MS. note by Col. Yule in his noble edition of the Venetian traveller, vol. ii. pp. 78-9.

[2] *Tung K'i sien tchi*, by Luh Tze-yun, f. 13 v. (*Shwoh ling* collection, bk. 29).

[3] *Tai ping yü lan*, bk. 788, f. 3v.

[4] 無文字刻木爲契.

[5] *Ibid.* Bk. 791, f. 9, v.—Cf. the rather loose statements of Ma Tuanlin in the translation by Marq. d'Hervey de St.-Denys, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers*, vol. ii. pp. 81, 91, 139.

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The Black *Lolos* of Yunnan, the *Tsing tchung Kia* and the *Tung Kia Miao* tribes of Kueitchou province, are said, in the absence of any written language, or of a regular calendar, to still use pieces of carved or notched wood for records of events.[1]

Now it may be interesting to say here that the two latter tribes belong to the same stock as the Tai-Shans.[2]

27. The practice was also known in Upper Asia.[3] For instance, in 402, the Ju-Juan, of which we have already spoken, were taught by their chief, Tu-lun, to make use of notched sticks in substitution of their former mode of notation.[4] In the eleventh century, the chiefs of the Ju-tchi, cognate with the preceding, were still issuing their orders by the old device of an arrow with a notch in it, while matters of urgency were distinguished by three notches.[5]

Before making a writing for themselves in 920 A.D., the Khitans or Liao used to keep their records by means of wooden tallies.[6]

28. The oldest remains of notched sticks in literature are most probably the Kwas of the Yh-King.[7] These symbolical marks, made of lines, broken or entire, are now arranged, on a basis of eight sets of three, in sixty-four rows of six or double-three, each of which is placed at the head of a chapter of the above book. They are, in my opinion, nothing else than a survival of the notches formerly made

[1] E. C. Bridgman, *Sketches of the Miau-tsze*, § § 3, 9; in *J.N.C.B.R.A.S.* for 1859.—G. W. Clarke, *A Manuscript Account of the Kwei-chau Miao-tzŭ*, § § 8, 49. App. to A. R. Colquhoun, *Across Chrysê*, vol. ii. pp. 368, 383.

[2] Vide *China before the Chinese.* [3] Above § 4, 13.

[4] De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. (2), p. 338.

[5] Ma Tuanlin, *Wen hien tung K'ao*, bk. 327.—French translation, vol. ii. p. 440.

[6] Al. Wylie, Translation of the *Ts'ing wan K'e mung*, a Chinese Grammar of the Mandchu Tartar Language (8vo. Shanghai, 1855), p. xviii.—H. H. Howorth, *The Northern Frontagers of China*, V. *The Khitai or Khitans* (*J.R.A.S.* 1881), excerpt, pp. 23–48.—G. Deveria, *Examen de la stèle de Yen t'ai*, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1882, vol. i. p. 178, n.

[7] I have found that the early text of the *Yh-King*, which has never been understood, will never be so, because the majority of the chapters are made with fragments of an old dictionary, somewhat like the so-called syllabaries of Assyro-Babylonia; the other chapters are very old documents on various subjects, dating, as the others, from the introduction of writing in China. This solution, which is now accepted by nearly all the Sinologists who have scientifically studied the question since my paper has appeared, is established in *The Oldest Book of the Chinese* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1882–3). Cf. *J.R.A.S.* 1884, Vol. XVI. p. 460.

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on the eight arrows of divination.[1] They are the forms given in writing to the notches on wood, the broken lines representing the vertical, and the entire lines the horizontal lines, or the reverse. The Chinese traditional legends claim the Kwas (§ 17) as a regular means of intercommunication, which replaced a still older system of knotted cords. It may be that such a substitution did really take place, and that the Kwas are a survival of it, kept for purposes of divination.

29. The *fu* 符 or check of the Chinese was nothing else than a tally or notched stick. As the *Shwoh Wen* has it, the description cannot be mistaken. Intended to secure faith between two parties, it was formerly made of bamboo, about six inches long, which, being cut in two, each party held a portion, in order to see whether they agreed at any future time. The use and meaning of the word was extended to tallies of all sorts and to the symbols of office, of which a part matching to the other always remained in the hands of the superior. Legendary history ascribes the practice to the rulers of the semi-historical period for the appointment of their officers.[2]

There are various historical instances of the use of the *fu*.[3] It was in practice in the half-Chinese (or, better, non-Chinese) state of Tsu, on the banks of the Yang-tze Kiang, in the sixth century B.C. During the Han dynasty they were frequently employed, and the most interesting occasion was during the revolt of the "Red Eyebrows,"[4] *circâ* A.D. 30, in N.W. China, which the Chinese connect with the Siamese.[5] The *fu* was composed of two fragments, both fitting one another. The *K'i K'iuen* 契券 were another sort of binding device. Like the notched sticks, they were used

[1] The *eight* wands, or arrows of fate, are marked on many Babylonian cylinders as held in the hand of Marduk (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xxxii. No. 2; liv. A. No. 5) or of Istar (*ibid.* pl. xxxvii. No. 1).

[2] Cf. *K'anghi Tze-tien*, 118 + 5, ff. 8-9.

[3] *Tai-Ping yü-lan*, bk. 598, fol. 1-2.

[4] *Tch'ih mei* 赤眉, so called because their leader, Fan Ts'ung, with his whole army, adopted the practice of dyeing the eyebrows blood-colour, in order to increase the terror that their appearance inspired.

[5] *Suh Wen hien tung K'ao.—Ming y tung tchi.—Yuen Kien luy han*, bk. 334, fol. 6-7.

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double, each bearing corresponding marks. They were extensively used under the Han period and downwards. Sometimes they were made of silver; more often of iron when dealing with aboriginal or foreign tribes—for instance, by the Emperor Min when dealing with the Ti-Kiang or Tibetans.[1] But the usual material was slips of wood or the bark of trees.[2]

30. The use of notched sticks is not confined to the Far East. It was formerly greatly practised in the West, and it still lingers in some countries. It will be sufficient for our illustrative purposes to remind our readers of the *buchstaben* of the Germans, the *bok-stafir* of the Scandinavians, the *coelbren* of the Welsh, and of the old statement by Tacitus of the use in Germany of notched sticks for divination. Every one is aware that the Chancellor of the Exchequer used (till 1834) formerly to present his budget (or bag) containing the tallies with which he checked his accounts; and that the burning of the discarded tallies caused the fire and destruction of the building in the place of which were built the present Houses of Parliament.

Notched sticks were, and are perhaps still, in use among the colliers in Scotland;[3] and they are still used by bakers in various parts of England and France,[4] in the Canterbury hop-gardens, locally in some other trades, at Constantinople, etc.[5]

31. The notches on sticks do not seem in the East and in the West to have ever been any other thing than a simple mnemonic process of numbers or objects. There is, however, one exception; a singular instance of their development into a regular alphabet occurred in the case of the *Oghams* of Wales and Ireland. This was done under the influence of a previous alphabet about which there are two opinions. According to the most probable explanation, the Ogham writing was simply an adaptation of the runes to xylographic

[1] *Tsin tchung hing shu*; *Tai-Ping yü-lan*, bk. 598, fol. 6*v*.
[2] On the *K'i K'iuen* at large, vid. *Tai-Ping yü-lan*, bk. 598, fol. 3-7.
[3] Where Colonel Yule saw them. Vid. his note in *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 78.
[4] I saw those used by bakers in Normandy.
[5] *Notes and Queries*, ser. 1, vol. x. p. 485.—Edelestand du Méril, *Essai sur l'origines des Runes* (8vo. Paris, 1844), p. 29.

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convenience, notches cut with a knife on the edge of a squared staff being substituted for the ordinary runes.[1] Another and later opinion maintains their phonetic values from the Latin of the classical period.[2]

B. II. (*e, f*) *Symbolical marks incised or drawn.*

32. Graffitti, not properly speaking inscriptions, have been found in Siberia, but they are not the expected primitive remains of ancient writings.[3] Some[4] are purely Tartar, being written in Mongolian and Kalmuck. Others, obviously the work of common people, may be Arabic; while some others found on the left bank of the Jenissei river are much more interesting. They seem to me to be badly written in Syriac from right to left horizontally, before the time of the adaptation of this writing to the Uigur and Mongol. The characters are still separated one from the other. On one of these graffitti found at the same place, several Chinese characters, as written by common people, are recognizable; for instance, 戊 牛 cyclical characters.[5]

The last we have to speak of are quite peculiar and altogether different from the others. The signs are painted in red. They are made of straight lines disposed like drawings of lattices and window shades, and also like the tree characters of the Arabs and like the runes. They are met with near the Irtisch river on a rock over the stream Smolank.[6]

33. The early rulers of the Pre-Chinese Bak tribes

[1] Rev. Isaac Taylor, *Greeks and Goths; a Study on the Runes* (London, 1879), pp. 108-139; *The Alphabet*, vol. ii. pp. 225–227.

[2] M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Alphabet Irlandais primitif et le dieu Ogmios*, pp. 20–26 in *Academie Inscr. et Bell.-Lettr. Comptes Rendus*, 1881, vol. ix.

[3] We neglect here, of course, the obviously Tataric graffitti and inscriptions of Mongol and Kalmuck characters.

[4] P. J. von Strahlenberg: *Description of Russia, Siberia, and Great Tartary*, etc., with plates. 4to. London, 1738.—Greg. Spassky: *De Antiquis quibusdam sculpturis et inscriptionibus in Sibiria repertis*; 4to. Petropoli, 1822.—An abstract of the latter, with plates, under this title: *De quelques inscriptions decouvertes en Siberie* in L. de Rosny: *Archives Paléographiques de l'Orient et de l'Amérique*; 8vo. pp. 143-6, Paris, 1872. - Meiners: *De Antiquis Monum. in Sibir. Australi extantibus*; in Comment. Soc. Reg. Gotting. vol. xiii. 1799. Pallas, *Neue nordische Beytraege*, tom. v. St. Petersb. 1781.

[5] *Vid.* above § 8, on a hieroglyphical one.

[6] G. Spassky, *op. cit. Archives*, p. 145, pl. xix. Vid. *Addenda.*

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once migrated in China, found on the banks of rivers, near places of worship of the Aborigines, some curious marks, which I understood to be of the pattern known as cup-marks.[1] Such findings are attributed to the great Yü, to Yao, to Huang-ti, the first emperor, and to the legendary Fuh-hi himself. The legends of the findings are mostly centred about the *Ho t'u*,[2] presented to Fuh-hi and the *Lo shu*[3] offered to Yü. The regular and numerical disposition of these cup-marks, as understood in the Chinese traditions, reminded me of the groups of cup-marks as found by an Indian archæologist, Mr. Rivett Carnac, on the southern slopes of the Himalaya.[4] This assimilation was accepted, and further researches by Prof. R. K. Douglas[5] and by myself have shown that cup-marks are met with in China in several places, in Shantung, Ngan-hui, Hupeh, Szetchuen and Kwangtung provinces. There is no doubt that these cup-marks were a mnemonic means of notation used by some tribes of the pre-Chinese population of the Middle Kingdom.[6]

[1] *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 28.

[2] Or Map of the Ho river.

[3] Or writing from the Lo river. On these, *vid.* Mayers, *Chinese Reader's Manual*, pp. 56-9.

[4] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1877, vol. xlvi. Mr. J. H. Rivett Carnac had the kindness to write me from Ghazipur, and to send me his following papers: *Pre-Historic Remains in Central India*, Calcutta, 1879; *On Stone Implements from the North-Western Provinces of India*, Calcutta, 1883; *Archæological Notes on Ancient Sculpturings on Rocks in Kumaon, India, similar to those found on Monoliths and Rocks in Europe*, 8vo. Calcutta, 1883.

[5] *Cup-marks*, in *Saturday Review*, Nov. 24, 1883.

[6] Some marks, straight lines and circles, on rocks were found along the southern coast of Hawaï. Cf. A. Bastian, *Sprachvergleichen Studien . . . . der Indo-Chinesischen Sprachen*, p. 104 (8vo. Leipzig, 1870). I extract the following note from a contemporary (Feb. 13, 1883): "In many parts of Switzerland, writes our Geneva correspondent, are often found smooth flat stones, evidently hand-polished, and covered with dots, lines, circles, and half-circles. The origin and use of these stones, known among country people as *Schalensteine*, has long been a moot point among the learned. Some have thought they were charms, others that they were meant to commemorate the dead, or that the signs on them were undecipherable hieroglyphics; but it has been reserved for Herr Rödiger, of Bellach, in Solothurn, to throw a new light on these mysterious relics of the past, and suggest a theory concerning them which seems to meet all the necessities of the case. The *Schalensteine*, he says, are neither more nor less than topographical charts, as a comparison of them with any modern map of the districts in which they are found will show. The engraved dots correspond with existing towns and villages, the lines with roads. Even the fords and mountain passes are indicated. Herr Rödiger has examined many of these stones from various parts of the country, and he possesses a collection, picked up in Solothurn, which form together a map of the entire canton. Another significant circumstance is that the *Schalensteine* are mostly found at intervals of about two hours (say, six miles)

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34. There is in Chinese books a curious legend about a very ancient writing from Yueh-tchang. This country was in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, and the region which formerly bore that name was half in Tong King and half in Cochinchina. A mission is said to have come from there to the Chinese Court in the middle of the eleventh century B.C.[1] Another and much earlier mission from the same country, mentioned however, and as far as I know, only in historical compilations of late date,[2] is attributed to the time of Yao (2145–2043 B.C.).

In the fifth year of his reign, a mission from Yueh-tchang came to his Court and presented a tortoise, a thousand years old and three feet in size; on its back were characters of the *Ko-teu* (or oldest) style recording what had happened since the beginning of the world. Yao ordered it to be transcribed and called it the "Tortoise Annals" (or, better, ephemeridis).[3]

This second tradition has apparently developed from that dating from the Tchou dynasty, *i.e.* the mission of the eleventh century. The uncritical Chinese compilers of later times are very fond of embellishing their records with repetitions of events which might enhance the glory of their sages of antiquity.[4] The number of legends engendered in this way is by no means inconsiderable.

from each other, and at spots where several roads meet. The former Herr Rödiger calls "headstones" *(Hauptsteine)*, the latter he denominates "by-stones" *(Nebensteine)*. If he be right in his hypothesis, the places where these stones are met with possessed considerable populations long before the dawn of history; even the villages shown on the *Schalensteine* must be far older than the Christian era. Herr Rödiger considers the Swiss map stones to be of the same origin as the similar stones which are found in Germany, Scandinavia, India, and further Asia, and sees in them another proof of the high antiquity and common origin of the Indo-Germanic races, and the existence among the latter, in an indefinitely remote age, of civilized habits, organized trade, and more culture than is generally supposed."

[1] *Vid.* below § 44.

[2] It was apparently not yet current in the tenth century, if we may so infer from the silence of the *Tai-ping yü lan*, bk. 785, f. 2, which mentions only the second mission.

[3] *K'ang Kien tcheng she yoh*, 1737, bk. i. f. 9.—*Kang Kien y tchi luh*, 1711; Medhurst, *Ancient China*, p. 330.—*T'ung Kien Kang muh* (twelfth cent.), bk. vii. f. 18.

[4] On these embellishments and their subsequent development, cf. some remarks in my paper on *The Old Numerals, the Counting Rods and the Swan-Pan in China*, London, 1884, p. 1 (excerpt *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. iii. pp. 297-340).

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35. The use of conventional marks belongs to all times and to all countries, and it is needless to insist upon such a well-known fact. Disagreement of opinion between scholars may happen in some particular cases. For instance, the striæ found on a piece of reindeer's horn at Cro-Magnon of the Stone age are explained by some as mnemonic marks.[1] And so too are the striæ found under similar circumstances. Such was the opinion of Lartet, Christy, Broca, Lenormant and others.

Another explanation, however, is given by different authorities; they maintain that such notches were only made on the handles of the implements in order to prevent their slipping out of the hand.[2]

Many instances could be put forward here of the use of marks everywhere, on the rude stone monuments of Europe,[3] as well as in other countries, but it would lengthen uselessly the present section.

The two great lines of evolution which we have attempted to explain in the preceding sections, in numerous examples of embryo-writings, though occasionally intercrossed, keep pretty well their individuality up to the point we have now reached. They both converge to regular writing, and we do not think that any system of writing, deserving to be so called, has ever been framed without the co-operation of these two great sources of notation.[4] This remark does not apply to the numerous cryptograms which are based on a previous knowledge of alphabetism; such, for instance, as the *Anaitsi* and other characters of Japan,[5] the tree-alphabets *El*

[1] Vid. Fr. Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, 9th edit. vol. i. p. 399; Dr. Broca, *Sur les Troglodytes de la Vézère*.

[2] G. de Mortillet, *Le Préhistorique*, p. 408 (Paris, 1883).

[3] Such, for example, as the marks on the stones of the dolmen of Mané-Lud. Sir J. Simpson has collected all these marks in his work, *Archaic Sculpturings of Cups, Circles, etc., on Stones and Rocks in Scotland, England, and other Countries.* 8vo. Edinburgh, 1867.

[4] A French scholar, Mr. C. Schoebel, published in 1882 a learned but not convincing paper, *Mémoire sur les Origines de l'Ecriture Alphabetique* (in *Actes de la Société Philologique* de Paris, pp. 137-213), where he denies the evolution towards alphabet from a hieroglyphical basis.

[5] Cf. Sanaki-bara yoshi-no: *Bun-gei rui-san*, bk. i. f. 22.—Hirata Atsutane, *Giji hen*, ff. 14, 15, 16, 17.

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Mushajjar and *El Shajari* of the Arabs,[1] or the numerous examples published in the curious work of Abubekr ben Wahshih,[2] etc.

II. Writings Impeded and Decayed.

36. The struggle for life is a condition of existence for a writing as for other things. The best fitted resists and lasts. But the better fitting is purely objective; it depends upon the surrounding circumstances much more than upon the intrinsic perfection and high standard of the writing concerned. I do not think this interesting problem of evolution has ever been considered from this important standpoint; while opposite statements, as if they were a matter of course, are often met with in learned works. Alphabets and phonetic writings once acquired have been lost because they were too far advanced for their surroundings. In some cases they have either disappeared, in others they have dropped their too much advanced capabilities. Of such cases there are not a few. Let us consider some instances of the two classes.

37. "The Aïnos have the custom of inscribing all their objects with signs which vary according to the owner. These signs are made of curved and straight lines. Trees in the forests and points of bamboo arrows are marked in the same way."[3] Fac-similes of these signs have been published by the learned author of this statement.[4] Now an examination of them has satisfied me, without leaving any doubt in my mind, that the people who use these marks were once acquainted with the alphabetic writing still used in Corea and not unknown in Japan. Several of these marks can be still resolved into their alphabetic elements, and consequently

[1] "Constructed out of the Arabic alphabet, after the Arabs had come into contact with the Varangians in the ninth century."—Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, ii. 226*n*.

[2] *Ancient Alphabets and Hieroglyphic Characters Explained*, ... in the Arabic language, by Ahmad ben Abubekr ben Wahshih. Transl. by Joseph Hammer. 8vo. London, 1806, pp. 38, 45.

[3] Heinrich Siebold, *Ethnologische studien über die Aïnos auf der Insel Yesso* (Berlin, 1881, 8vo.) s. 19.

[4] *Ibid.* Taff. II.

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easily read; for instance, *oku, sao, sno, us, yes,* are easily read; some more may be deciphered with perseverance, while others are corrupted beyond hope. Therefore we are justified in assuming that the present people in using these marks employ the groups bodily, and know no more about their composition and value. Since I have examined the specimens published by Herr H. von Siebold, an Aïno inscription has been published by Dr. B. Schube of Kioto.[1] There again the oblivion of the old alphabetic writing is obvious, and the characters, many of which are still recognizable, are mixed with hieroglyphic and symbolic signs.

As to the time when the Aïnos were made acquainted with this Corean or *Önmun* alphabet, we have no information. They may have obtained it direct from the Coreans, as the Japanese do not seem to have been seriously acquainted with or to have ever used it, except in modern forgeries.[2] Besides that, the peculiar combinations made for the rendering of Japanese sounds, which appear in the Japanese form of the alphabet,[3] and which obviously bear a modern face, do not appear in the Aïno use of the alphabet.

38. The Lolos of Szetchuen have an alphabetic writing,[4]

[1] *Die Aïnos*, Taff. vii. Inschrift zweifelhaften Ursprungs bei Oturanai. *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, 26 stes Helft. Februar, 1882, Band iii. pp. 220–256. Vid. *Addenda*.

[2] M. Léon de Rosny thought he had found proofs of the early use of this writing in Japan, and he communicated the fact to the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Vid. *Les sources des plus anciennes de l'histoire de Japon*, pp. 105-116, and *L'écriture sacrée et les inscriptions de l'antiquité Japonaise*, pp. 170-177 of *Comptes rendus A.I.B.-L.*, 1882, t. ix. But his supposed discovery turned out to be a misconception according to the severe criticism of Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain, *On two Questions of Japanese Archæology*, pp. 315-332 of *J.R.A.S.* 1883, Vol. XV.

[3] Vid. the specimens dating from 1477 A.D., in the *Bun-gei rui-san* (1878), bk. i. ff. 14-15.

[4] Vid. my paper *On a Lolo Manuscript written on Satin* in *J.R.A.S.* Vol. XIV. pp. 119-123. The great interest of this writing lies in its bearing on the history of Indian writing. The oldest specimen of writing hitherto known in India is a stone seal found in some ruins at Harapa, near Lahore, upon which General Cunningham writes as follows:—" Its age is of course quite uncertain, but I do not think its date can be later than 500 to 400 B.C. I now think it may be archaic Indian letters of as early an age as Buddha himself."—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p 60. NOW THESE CHARACTERS ARE THE SAME WRITING AS THAT NOW POSSESSED BY THE LOLOS, as I have shown in the above pamphlet by juxtaposition of the two writings.

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connected (by common descent according to my views [1]) with the South Indian Alphabet of Açoka. But they no more understand it as such, and are unable to compose new groups or disentangle the old ones. They often use each word or group as an ideo- or phonogram. This is shown by the extreme corruption of many of these groups as exhibited in the latest documents we have received of the same writing. The clustering of the characters in groups, which, as in Chinese, is a characteristic of this writing, has helped to the obliteration of the characters individually; they can no more be used otherwise than in these groups of ancient make representing the old pronunciation. And these groups are now considered as inseparable ideograms, and used accordingly without knowledge of the respective values of their component characters.[2] This writing, once phonetic, is returning to the ideographic stage. Its phonetic practice entailed more mental work than the common capacities of the people would permit. It was hence fated to drop its higher capability.[3]

39. Among the several writings which were used in Borneo two have left interesting relics and survivals.[4]

The Dayaks engrave as ornaments some signs which they obviously understand no more. Some bamboo objects exhibited at the India Museum, London, bear these marks. They are apparently the survival of an alphabetical writing

[1] Vid. my remarks in E. C. Baber's *Travels and Researches in Western China*, pp. 142-143 (London, 1882, R.G.S., suppl. pap. vol. i.), and also in *J.R.A.S.* 1882, Vol. XIV. pp. 802-803; T. de L., *On the History of Archaic Chinese Writing and Texts*, p. 8 (London, 1882, 8vo.); *The Academy*, July 2, 1881.

[2] These tribes are reported to have a written language of over 600 characters. These, he says, are symbols of sounds and not of things, as the Chinese characters. Such was the saying of a Mandarin of Kueitchou province, to Deka, *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, vol. i. p. 104.

[3] Up till now we have five texts in this writing. Three fac-similes were published in E. C. Baber's *Travels and Researches*. The fourth is the MS. written on satin described in my pamphlet *On a Lolo MS.* above quoted. The fifth consists of three pages sent by the missionaries MM. Gourdin and V. Crabouillet to my friend Mr. E. C. Baber, who gave them to me. They will appear in my book *China before the Chinese*. A sixth exists in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Shanghai; it has been described in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1884, vol. ii. pp. 582–83.

[4] There are many traces in some parts of Borneo of Chinese influence, shape and ornamentation of roofs, etc. Important Chinese colonies were formerly settled there from the fifteenth century. A Dayak tribe in the interior claim to be descendants of Chinese. Cf. W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, compiled from Chinese sources, pp. 101-115 (8vo. Batavia, 1876).

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anciently known there, and afterwards forgotten.[1] We find a similar writing on an earthenware vase from the same island belonging to the Ethnographical Museum of Dresden. This vase, as far as I remember from a sketch communicated to me by Mr. A. W. Franks, is ornamented with two figures of the Chinese dragon, but not of Chinese make.[2]

Dr. Kern has published some inscriptions found at Koutei in the same island, which are written in this character of Eastern India the Vengi-Chalukya in Kalinga, the same that was carried to Cambodia, to Western Java, and elsewhere, as we shall presently see.[3]

40. This same character of the Vengi-Chalukya was also carried to North-Celebes Islands. The people have not remained at the level required for the practical use of a phonetic writing. It is no more used as an alphabet. Curiously enough, it is employed as pictorial ornaments on the MSS. they now write in a pictographic style of the lowest scale. This I have seen on the facsimile[4] published by Dr. A. B. Meyer, of Dresden, in his splendid album on the writings of this region. The finding was extremely welcome because it is a partial confirmation, and anyhow a stepping-stone helping to understand another palæographical discovery of mine of rather a startling character.[5]

41. In the Easter Island, or Vaïhu, some fourteen inscrip-

[1] I was acquainted with this inscription through a fac-simile sent to my learned friends, Col. H. Yule and Dr. R. Rost, by Dr. A. B. Meyer, Keeper of the Museum. This writing is not without some apparent connection with one of the writings of Sumatra. On the other hand, it presents no less a curious semblance with an inscription dug out in Japan at *Usuki* 臼杵郡 in *Fiuga Kuni* 日向國 in 1821 (Bem-sei, fourth year). Cf. the fac-simile in *Ta Jihpon ti Ming*, f. 189*v*.

[2] I do not know in what part of Borneo the vase was found. It is, however, curious to point out that the Chinese annals of the Ming dynasty (1368-1643), *Ming she*, bk. 323, in the notice about Bandjermasin, speaking of the people, say that "they very much like earthen jars with dragons outside."

[3] *Over de Opschriften uit Koeter in Verband met de Geschiedenis van het schrift in den Indischen Archipel.* 8vo. Amsterdam, 1882, p. 18.—Also K. F. Holle, *Tabel van Oud- en Nieuw-Indische Alphabetten. Bijdrage tot de palaeographie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (8vo. Batavia, 1882), n. 80-1.

[4] *Bilderschriften des Ostindischen Archipels*, pl. I. l. 11.

[5] It is interesting here to note that a bronze bell bearing an inscription in ancient Tamil characters, has been discovered at Wangarei.—Cf. T. R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui; or, New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 34.—A. de Quatrefages, *Hommes fossiles et hommes sauvages* (Paris, 1884, 8vo.), p. 476.

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tions have been found incised on wooden boards, perhaps of drift wood. The characters are peculiar. Most of them display strange shapes in which with a little imagination forms of men, fishes, trees, birds, and many other things have been fancied. A curious characteristic is that the upper part of the signs are shaped somewhat like the head of the *herronia* or albatros. A pictorial tendency is obvious in all of these. Some persons in Europe have taken them for hieroglyphics, and have ventured to find a connection with the flora and fauna of the island. The knowledge of this writing is now lost; and it is not sure that the few priests and other men of the last generation who boasted of being able to read them, could do so thoroughly. Anyhow, in 1770 some chiefs were still able to write down their names on a deed of gift[1] when the island was taken in the name of Carlos III. of Spain.

42. Now, an enthusiastic archæologist of this country, Mr. J. Park Harrison, has spared no pains to bring together all the possible information on these inscriptions. He has put himself in communication with persons acquainted with the island, and he has published with views of his own all that he could get, and also fac-similes of two sides of one of the above inscriptions on drift wood. He had also another one photographed, and had the great kindness to communicate to me his materials some three years ago.[2]

43. In examining carefully the characters, I was struck by the forked heads of many of them, which reminded me of the forked matras of the Vengi-Châlukya inscriptions.

[1] Señ. Gonzalez de la Roza has exhibited a tracing of these signatures, which were reproduced by Mr. Park Harrison, *op. cit.* pp. 14, 15, pl. 27.—*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. iii. pl. xxvii. For instance, one of these signatures is a big monogram *Inu*, which was apparently used as an ideogram, while the other signatures are written in a concise form of the characters and monograms of the inscriptions.

[2] J. Park Harrison, *The Hieroglyphics of Easter Island* (8vo. London, 1874), p. 16, with five plates.—*Note on Five Hieroglyphic Tablets from Easter Island*, p. 2.—*Vid.* also *Nature*, Sept. 17, 1874.—J. Linton Palmer, *Davis or Easter Island* (with plate) in *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society* of Liverpool, 1875, xxix. pp. 275–97; *On some Tablets found in Easter Island* (with plate), *ibid.* 1876, xxx. pp. 255–63.—A small inscription enlarged is given in Meyer's *Bilderschriften des Ostindischen Archipels*, pl. vi.—Also one in *Tour du monde*, 2e sem. 1882, A. Pinart, *L'ile de Paques*.

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A closer comparison with plates i. to viii. of the *Elements of South Indian Palæography*[1] soon showed me that I was on the right track. And a further study of the *Vaïhu* characters and their analysis by comparing the small differences (vocalic notation) existing between several of them, convinced me that they are nothing else than a decayed form of the above writing of Southern India returning to the hieroglyphical stage. With this clue, the inscriptions of Easter Island are no more a sealed text. They can easily be read after a little training. Their language is Polynesian, and I can say that the vocabulary of the Samoan dialect has proved very useful to me for the purpose.[2]

It is useless to dwell on the importance of this little palæographical discovery for the history of civilization, and its dissemination eastwards.

44. The Giao-tchi or Annamites had once a phonetic writing, which they have lost under the influence of the Chinese.[3] A great antiquity is claimed for such knowledge among them; but we have no means for verifying such an early date as the eleventh century B.C. And though this writing might have been a derivation from the phonetically used Chinese characters, we are not inclined to accept, without reserve, the genuineness of so early a claim.[4] Dr. A. Bastian was given by a Shan of the Yuns who live at Küntun, near the frontier of Yunnan, an alphabet, "which may probably resemble that of the Quanto, the ancestors of the Tunkinese."[5] P. Montrouziès, a missionary there, says that

[1] A. C. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, from the fourth to the seventeenth century A.D., being *An Introduction to the Study of South Indian Inscriptions and MSS.* 2nd edit. 4to. London and Mangalore, 1878.—Plates i. vii. viii. are specially interesting for the forked *matras*.

[2] I had withheld the publication of this discovery with the hope of spending more time over it, and giving a transcription and translation of several of these inscriptions. Though it is still my intention, I find my hands so full for a time to come, that I venture to print the above information for the use of some scholar conversant with these matters.

[3] It is said in their records that their writing was in use at the time of their sending a mission to the Chinese King *Tching* of Tchou (viz. 1109 or 1039 B.C.), and that it required translation into Chinese. Vid. P. J. B. Truong-vinh-ky, *Cours d'histoire Annamite* (Saigon, 1875), vol. i. pp. 11.

[4] The question is discussed at length in *China before the Chinese*.

[5] *Remarks on the Indo-Chinese Alphabets*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1868, Vol. III. pp. 65-80.

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the phonetic writing of the Giao-tchi is still in use nowadays among the mountainous tribes of the province of Nghê-An, in Tongking.[1] This is the modern name of the region formerly called *Yueh-tchang* or *Viet-thüong*, from whence the above mission to China is said to have come.[2] The same missionary thinks that he has found some specimens of it in inscriptions of a grotto of the basin of the Sâng-Gianh.

In 186 A.D. Si-nhip, Chinese viceroy of Annam, formally introduced the Chinese writing, forbidding most expressly the employment of the former phonetic writing, which the Annamites have entirely lost since that time.[3]

45. In the island of Hainan "Captain Culver found what appeared to be characters of some kind scrawled on the walls of a *Li* village near Yu-lin-Kan, but none of the villagers could tell him anything about them, except that they had probably been written by a medicine man, who was, however, not forthcoming. The characters have a resemblance to a kind of mixture of Chinese and Malay, something like what one might imagine these characters written on the surface of rippling water. Vid. *Addenda*.

"The *Li*, who are non-Chinese rude tribes, occupiers of the island, do not seem to have any form of writing, none certainly that is generally known to the people; they do not seem to have even any recognized symbols for numbers."[4]

46. Another instance of great moment is that of the Chinese writing. Its history, instead of being that of an evolution towards progress (as we understand it), is, on the contrary, that of a slow decay and adaptation to surrounding circumstances of a lower standard than those of its former focus in the west.

The writing of China was not born in the Middle

[1] Dutreuil de Rhins, *Notice sur le Tong-King*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Geographie de Paris*, Avril, 1880, p. 311.

[2] Vid. the official geography of Annam, published in 1829, *Hoang viet dia du chi*, vol. i. pp. 1, 9; vol. ii. p. 31. The *Yueh-tchang* or *Viet-thüong* region is now covered by the provinces of Nghê-An, Thuan-hoa and Quang-nam.

[3] *Vid.* Truong Vinh Ky, *ibid.* p. 27.

[4] James George Scott, *France and Tongking* (London, 1885), pp. 353–354.

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kingdom,[1] and there are no reasons to doubt the tradition that the leaders of the Bak tribes, when they entered into China, were acquainted with it, while there are proofs of all sorts in its favour. In such a country of conservatism and preservation carried to the utmost, if the writing had followed a regular course of development, and been evolved from the limbo of any embryonic means of communication, or of a rude system of hieroglyphics, traces of this forcibly slow growth would certainly be found. But it is the reverse that we discover. This writing is not of indigenous growth. It is an importation from the west.

47. The oldest palæographical remains which have been preserved prove the writing to be from the beginning in China, a scholarly writing comprising ideograms and phonograms (former ideograms turned meaningless and phonetic) susceptible of a great power of phonetic combinations.[2] Many signs had reached purely conventional shapes. A proportion by no means small of the ideograms had still some pictorial features, survival of their former hieroglyphical stage, which the Chinese scribes eventually turned into profit at the expense of the phonetism. They insisted on the pictorial features, and probably increased their number, in order to facilitate the understanding of the writing to the various dialect-speaking people. But they were not aware that their characters had passed through several phases of evolution before reaching them; they did not know that their writing, written in columns, must be derived from an older one written horizontally, since, as a natural consequence, many characters have to be laid down before

[1] This unexpected conclusion, to which I was long adverse, has cost me many years of patient work before I could conceive and understand it. But it is now so clear that any scholar conversant with the matter who examines without prejudiced views the facts I put forward in my publications, cannot fail to be convinced. I am now myself rather ashamed not to have found it out at the beginning of my researches. *Vid.* §§ 9, 17, 19, 33, 49.

[2] In favour of this result of my studies I find the following views: — Tai Tung, a renowned palæographer of the thirteenth century, author of the *Luh Shu Ku*, arrived at the conclusion that hieroglyphics do not constitute the only original ground of the Chinese writing. *Vid.* J. Nacken, *A Chinese Webster*, in *China Review*, 1873, vol. ii. p. 176. M. Léon de Rosny, *Les Ecritures figuratives et hiéroglyphiques des differents peuples anciens et modernes* (2nd edit. Paris, 1870, 4to.), pp. 3 and 4, expresses a similar opinion.

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the survival of hieroglyphical features remaining in them can be recognized. This characteristic, which we ascertain to-day, was never guessed by them.[1] It has for us been a help to find its antecedent writing in that of south-west Asia.

48. The rude pictorial characters which appear in many European books as representatives of the primitive writing of China cannot be accepted as anything of the kind. As a matter of fact, they are not old. They are taken from inscriptions on vases which are forgeries.[2] Imbued with the idea that the rougher the writing the older and consequently the higher priced would be their vases, the forgers (generally of the Sung dynasty downwards to the present day) have drawn their inscriptions accordingly. The proof of this statement is easy to give. The Chinese are noted forgers, but, like those of Europe, they seldom escape detection, which in this case comes from comparison of their own works. We find, for instance, some inscriptions of the most common kind repeated over and over again on genuinely antique vases and correctly written; while in the forgeries they are distorted pictorially, and gradually turned ruder in the successive imitations made by unskilled hands. And, happily enough, in manipulating these inscriptions, which they do not understand, they display the most curious blunders.[3] An examination of such inscriptions disposed in

[1] On its curious effect on the phonetic reading of the ancient groups cf. *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 23, and also a valuable article in *The Times*, Aug. 26, 1884, *Further Progress in Chinese Studies*.

[2] Such is also the opinion of Rev. J. Chalmers, *The Origin of the Chinese;* an attempt to trace the connection of the Chinese with western nations in their religion, superstitions, arts, language, and traditions (8vo. London, 1868), p. 60. A rather indifferent work, which does not repose on a sufficiently extensive knowledge for the ground it seeks to cover.

[3] For instance, in the first volume of his great work on China, the well-known German traveller, F. von Richthofen (*China*, vol. i. p. 371), has given a sketch of a bronze vase with its inscription as a specimen of the oldest bronze industry under the Tchou dynasty, 1000 B C. Now the inscription proves that the vase is a forgery. The founder, to escape detection, has dropped the first or left column-line, and the last character of every other five column-line of an old inscription of six lines, which is known from two ancient objects on which it was inscribed. Fac-similes have been published in the *Kŭ yü t'u*, bk. iii. ff. 7–8, and bk. xvii. ff. 14–5. A splendid bronze vase brought back by Gen. Malcolm contains an inscription in twelve characters, copied simply from the 16th, 17th, and 18th columns of the well-known *Sun she pan inscription*. Mr. J. Drury Fortnum, of Stanmore, has in his collection a beautiful vase, containing the half of an old inscription, etc.

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rows is highly instructive: we intend publishing several of them some day. Is it necessary to add that these fanciful characters have no connection whatever with the oldest forms preserved from antiquity?

49. The Chinese have some traditions, enveloped in a mist of fiction, that their writing comes from the west. Though entangled with secondary myths of later growth, under the late influences of national reasoning and of foreign ideas, it is not impossible to trace out of them a few reminiscences which underlie their whole fabric. It would be trespassing on the purpose of the present paper to do so here, and it will be sufficient to mention only that which relates to the shape of the primary characters learned by the early Chinese Bak tribes before they migrated to the Flowery Land.

This writing (according to the traditions and archæological evidence) was neither scratched nor painted, but was cut deep into soft material; many signs represented (or were supposed to represent) all sorts of things and objects; some strokes of the writing were thick at one end and thin at the other; they were imitated from "prints of birds' claws on clay," and sometimes they were compared to "tongues of fire," or to "drops of rain freezing when falling."

These legendary peculiarities precisely enough remind us of the cuneiform writing of Babylon and the surrounding countries. Now it happens that among the oldest specimens of characters kept traditionally in the best Chinese palæographical works, there are in a few characters survivals of a wedge-writing appearance. The few thousand written words which formed the whole material of the ancient Chinese books rest on a basis of some five hundred different signs (tradition says 540); the oldest forms of the half of this quantity have been preserved. Compared with the few hundred characters which, in the same way, form the basis of the ancient writing of Babylon, they display the most remarkable likenesses. Taking into account the allowance to be made for the difference of material used for writing (which has caused the wedge to vanish), their identity is indisputable. This identity goes much beyond the mere shapes, sounds and

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meanings, as many other peculiarities are common to the two writings; the Chinese presenting an imitation, somewhat imperfect, of the other. Comparative researches on a scientific footing show, beyond any doubt, that the elements of the early civilization of the Chinese, and the bases of their knowledge and institutions, were borrowed from a region or people connected with the old culture fostered in Babylon.[1] The greatest probability is that the borrowing was effected through practical intercourse with Susiana or the country of Elam. And in the history of the Chinese this is the first of the sixteen sources which I find to have contributed to the formation of their civilization.

50. In the oldest style the writing was the faithful expression of the spoken language. By the phonetic reading of the oldest *Ku-wen* characters we find the ancient spoken forms of the words. Taking into account the wear and tear, many of them can still be identified with the same words of common descent in cognate languages. We cannot here give all the necessary details which show how closely connected are the oldest means of phonetic expression of this writing with that of Babylonia (a connexion corroborated by the shape of the characters) in polyphony, phonetic complements, and phonetic combination, etc. The oldest phonetic order in the Chinese phonetic groups is from left to right, and also, curiously enough, from bottom to top;[2] the latter

[1] This is established by a formidable array of facts. Some of them are most convincing. We have learned from the Chinese palæographers, for characters identified with ancient Babylonian, some meanings still unknown, and deciphered afterwards by Assyriologists. On the other hand, in May, 1880, I was able to announce that the Chinese signs of the cardinal points, similar to those of Babylon, exhibit a shifting then unexplained; three years afterwards Mr. T. G. Pinches made a corresponding discovery on the Assyro-Babylonian side, cf. T. de L., *Early History of Christian Civilization*, 1880, p. 29; T. G. Pinches, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 6 Feb. 1883. I read myself at the Royal Asiatic Society, on April 30th of the same year, a paper *On the Shifting of the Cardinal Points, as an illustration of the Chaldæo-Babylonian culture borrowed by the Early Chinese*, which will soon appear in my book on the *Sources of Chinese Civilization*, where it is shown that it gives a clue to the road followed by the civilizers of China. And I had the satisfaction at the Royal Asiatic Society's meeting, on March 14th, 1884, to hear Sir Henry Rawlinson, the founder and the most prominent member of the Assyriological school in this country, state his belief (after three years of opposed opinion) in my discoveries of the derivation of the early Chinese civilization from that of Assyrio-Babylonia through the intermediary of Susiana.

[2] *Vid.* some instances, *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 23, and notes.

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resulted, at first, from the turning up of groups originally written horizontally; these processes were imitated afterwards, and sometimes only for convenience with some special characters. The phonetic-combination groups (where a closed syllable, for instance, is written with two signs, one for the initial, the other for the final) are more frequently met with in the oldest specimens than afterwards, when they were repeated only by tradition. On the other hand, the polysyllabic-combination groups (where each part has a meaning and a sound by itself), as a result of the evolution of the language and the oblivion of the old principles, are found later on. I have been able to give elsewhere a curious instance of them explaining an unintelligible passage of the *Shu-King* at the beginning of the Tchou dynasty.[1]

51. The Chinese official scribes clung to the old principles as much, and as long, as they could. But with the gradual differentiation and decay of pronunciation caused by enlargement of the nation and absorption of foreign native tribes, they eventually found themselves outstripped by a gap between their traditional rendering of the official language and the dialectal varieties. Successive transcriptions of the same words make us assist at the struggle that took place. We see how the scribes ventured to render, by the old means of phonetic composition, then fading away (as shown in the preceding section), the new words introduced into the language. But the ideograms which could be understood notwithstanding the dialectal discrepancies proved stronger in the long run. With the growing independency of the various principalities, ideographism was more extensively used in some states, while in some others the ancient principles of phonetic rendering adapted to the regional pronunciation were still adhered to. The inscriptions show that it is specially in the western quarters of the Chinese dominion that the old phonetic orthography was maintained.

52. In order to understand the sequel of the evolution, and see how the Chinese were led to the threshold of the

[1] Vid. *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 23*n*. *J. R. A. S.* Vol. XIV. p. 800.

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alphabetic principles without grasping them, and even dropped what they were taught originally, we must consider a few phenomena of the history of their language. The Chinese Bak tribes, when they reached the Flowery Land, spoke a language presenting (so far as comparison may be allowed at three thousand years' distance) more affinities with the Ugro-Finnish than with the Turko-Tartar languages. But it was characterized, like the Akkadian,[1] by a marked tendency to agglutination, somewhat, though in a smaller degree, like the polysynthetic or holophrastic languages of North America. The words dropped a part of their *significative elements* in case of association in phrase groups. The Bak tribes found China occupied by populations of several races speaking at least two classes of languages of different ideology, and at variance with that of the Chinese.[2] One of these classes, that of the Mân, originating from India, possessed an ideology opposed to the Chinese, elliptic tendencies, and a characteristic nicety of distinction in vowel sounds. The intermingling of these languages with that of the new comers has produced the Chinese language and its dialects, and the cognate and special characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman and Taï-Shan languages.

The phonetic consequences of this intermingling, considered here specially in that which concerns the Chinese languages, were peculiar; so we must remember that nearly everything here explained applies also to the above languages, but on a different scale.[3]

53. The archaic language of the Bak tribes possessed the special phonetic feature called the harmonization of vowels, though thematic only, confined, as in Akkadian, to the signi-

[1] Cf. François Lenormant, *La langue primitive de la Chaldée et les idiomes Touraniens* (8vo. Paris, 1875), pp. 278-279.

[2] The purpose of my forthcoming work, *China before the Chinese*, is to disentangle the nexus of all the non-Chinese tribes which have occupied the country before the Chinese, in order to permit me to consider exclusively the Chinese origin in a following work. A short abstract of a part of it forms my paper, *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, introduction to A. R. Colquhoun's book, *Amongst the Shans* (8vo. London, 1885).

[3] *Vide* a clear classification of this phenomenon, Lucien Adam, *De l'harmonie des voyelles* (8vo. Paris, 1874).

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ficative parts of the words.[1] This was the weakest point, and the first which yielded to the native tendencies of ellipse and contraction. A bisyllabic word, for instance, of which the syllabic vowels belong to one class only, is very easily contracted by the dropping of one of the vowels;[2] the aggregate consonants which remain are gradually resolved into a single one, and sometimes eventually dropped altogether. The natural equivalent required to compensate the dropped elements of a crippled word reduced to one expiration or puff of breath, could not be obtained by a stress on one part (the crippled one), and indifference on the other.[3] It was sought for by the genius of the language in a difference of pitch,[4] simple or compound, according to the place of the lost part, in the utterance of the whole *puff-of-breath word.*

54. The gradual curtailing or crippling of the words entailed in speech the addition of a completing word, suggestive of class, as in the native dialects, or of a synonym, the selection of which was, of course, a matter of dialectic preference. Often, words borrowed from the native languages were used to facilitate understanding among the mixed population. This is a phenomenon of frequent occurrence in the history of languages.

The rendering of such additional words was, of course, for the scribes, a matter of perplexity. In the canonical books they were often expressed by additional phonetic-combination sub-groups, but the prevailing growth of ideographism led to the selection of ideograms, which in the

[1] François Lenormant, *Chaldæan Magic, its origin and development* (8vo. London, 1878), p. 271.

[2] Vid. my *Early History of the Chinese Civilisation* (London, 1880), p. 29. But these affinities date from a period very remote, when we may safely assume that the present Ugro-Altaïc and Turko-Tartar groups were not yet bent by their surrounding circumstances to their present distinct course of evolution. This distinction of the two groups is by no means clearly established, as shown by the late contention about the classification of the Magyar (cf. *A Magyarok eredete* irta Vambéry Armin, Budapest, 1882. Also a valuable article by Count Géza Kuun on *Les Origines Hongroises* in *Revue Internationale*, Mai, 1884, pp. 465-495).

[3] Cf. on the syllabic pronunciation, Henry Sweet, *A Handbook of Phonetics*, pp. 87, *seq.*—Prof. A. H. Sayce, *Introduction to the Science of Language*, vol. i. pp. 286, *seq.*

[4] Otherwise "tone."—On Tone and Accentuation, *vide* my book, *Du Langage, Essai sur la nature et l'étude des Mots et des Langues* (8vo. Paris, 1867). §§ 22-30.

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dialects could be read according to their idioms and preferences. The part played by these ideograms became larger, and, from a small starting-point which belonged to the ancient period of the writing, it gradually assumed a prominent rank. The parent-writing of Assyria presented the same phenomenon of small beginnings and eventually large use of ideograms.

55. The Chinese were led by the evolution of their language and writing to the threshold of alphabetism, but their surrounding circumstances did not permit them to perceive it.[1] When in phonetic composition groups, the last phonetic element stood no more, but for the final consonant of a word which was deprived by decay of the sound or sounds formerly following this consonant, *the alphabetic isolation was reached*.[2] Besides that, the harmonization of vowels, which assimilated the vocal sound of an added word expressed by an ideogram, rendered indifferent the original vowel of this ideogram. But the facility of grasping the sense carried by ideograms, notwithstanding the regional pronunciation and dialectal words, was too great a political advantage to be neglected. It had imposed itself quite in a natural way, by mere exigency of the surrounding circumstances, and it required only an official systematization to be the law of the land. This systematization, as we have said elsewhere, was carried on in 827 B.C. during a temporary revival of the Tchou dynasty's power. The breach between the spoken and the written language of China was an accomplished fact. The possibility of an alphabet had been lost, and a cumbrous system of writing—which expresses the succession of ideas and is not a language, which has proved

[1] For some examples, *vid. J.R.A.S.* Vol. XIV. p. 799, N.S.

[2] The curious Chinese system of indicating the pronunciation of a word by the initial of one word and the final of another, called the *fan-tsieh*, was apparently suggested by a similar phenomenon, with this difference, that it was not the final of the second word, but that of the first and the initial of the second of two syllabic characters in a group which were dropped in pronunciation. The Rev. J. Edkins states that the *fan-tsieh* was introduced by Sun shu yen in a work on the *Erh-ya*, about A.D. 230 (*Introduction to the Study of Chinese Characters*, p. 179). But I have found in the *Tsa luh* of Ku yen-wu (A.D. 1613–82), a very great scholar, that the system was originated by Yang Hiung (B.C. 53—A.D. 18), the author of the *Fang yen*, a comparative dictionary of the Chinese dialects.

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most noxious to philologists because of the wrong views they took from it on the spoken language—was obtained. But the phonetic advantage was not lost everywhere.

III. Mo-So Hieroglyphical Writing of Tibeto-China.

1. *History.*

56. The *Mo-so* 磨些[1] or *Na-shi* form the bulk of the population betwixt the Lu-tze Kiang, the Lan-tsang Kiang and the Kin-sha Kiang between the 27th and 30th parallels,[2] in the prefecture of Li-Kiang[3] (N.W. Yunnan). The name of Mo-so,[4] by which they are known among the Chinese, was at first objectionable to them, and it is only in late years that they have accepted and used it.[5] We suppose that they objected only to the Chinese transcription of the appellative as written with two characters meaning respectively "small" and "little." Yet this was nothing else than a form of an appellative apparently of native or Tibetan make; *Mo* for *Mu* is the name of their once leading family, and *so* for *sa*[6] is perhaps the Tibetan word *sa* for place or country. On the other hand, let us not forget that *zo* in their own language means "son," like the Chinese *tze*, which is probably its antecedent. *Muso* means "hunter" in Shan and in Li-so, a sister-language of the Mo-so, and may be derived from the very name of that people, so that it does not preclude any other origin for the appellative, as we shall see below. Their full name *Mo-so Man* in Chinese records is nothing else than "southern Barbarians *Mo-so*."

57. They are mentioned several times in history. First about 796 A.D., in the Annals of the T'ang Dynasty, I-mou-

[1] The character 些 must be read here as 娑 *so*, and not *sie*, its otherwise common pronunciation. The *K'anghi tze tien* gives this equivalent and quotes the names of *Lo-so* (Lhassa), *Mo-so* and *Tu-kuang-so* as examples of this special pronunciation. *Vid.* ii. 5, f. 30*v*.

[2] *Vid.* F. Garnier, *Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-Chine*, vol. i. p. 520.

[3] Their own native name is *Na-shi*.

[4] "Le nom de Mosso, tout injurieux qu'il était dit-on dans le principe a fini par dominer tellement que les Mosso actuels l'acceptent sans repugnance et s'appellent eux-mêmes Mosso."

[5] The *Wan-y tchi* (quoted in the *Tai Ping yü lan* cyclopedia (A.D. 977), Kiv. 789, f. 6) locates them above and below the Iron bridge (in the N.W. of Li-Kiang).

[6] *Sa* in Tibetan means: earth, country, place, spot, ground, etc. *Vid.* H. A. Jaeschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 569*b* (London, 1881, 8vo.).

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sün, the King of the Nan-tchao, whose title had just been recognized by the Emperor of China, led a campaign against the Tibetans, and afterwards conquered several small States of his neighbourhood, viz. those of the *Mo-so Man* (our *Mo-so*),[1] *Long-tong Man*, and *Mo-tchang Man*.[2]

They recovered their independence when the kingdom of the Nan-tchao collapsed at the death of Shun-hua (899 A.D.), the last prince of the dynasty established by Mung-she, which had ruled over Yunnan for eight centuries.[3] The state of Nan-tchao (since 860 A.D. called Ta-li), which had begun in 629, ceased to exist, and his successors were not able to recover the power of the former kingdom. In 937 the Tuan dynasty began to rule, and gave to its dominion the former name of Kingdom of Ta-li, which, however, was changed several times, and was not definitively used before its recognition by China in 1115 A.D. It lasted till its submission by the Mongols in 1354–1357, who put an end to the Tuan hereditary power.

58. At the outset of his campaign against Yunnan, Kublai Khan in 1253 first met before him in the north-west of Yunnan the very State of the *Mo-so Man*, which he subdued without delay. The power of the Yuen or Mongol dynasty of China was never firmly established in Western Yunnan; the submission of the native small States was nominal only; and the Mongol princes who ruled from father to son over Yunnan, and who lasted a long while after their brethren had been expelled from China, had their authority restricted to the centre and east of the province till their destruction by the Ming dynasty of China, and the suicide of the last of them in 1381 A.D. The Imperial troops were unable to make a regular conquest of the region occupied by the Mo-so, but the supreme suzerainty of the Chinese

[1] The passage, without quotation as usual, is reproduced by Ma Tuanlin. *Vid. Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine*, vol. ii. p. 297 (transl. d'Hervey St.-Denys), where the name is inadvertently transcribed *Mo-sie-man*.

[2] The *Mo* here is written with the same character as that of *Mo-so*, and suggests apparently a relationship between the two populations.

[3] Their name is not quoted, nor any other, in the Historical Documents concerning Yunnan, where it is stated only that the country fell into anarchy after the death of Shun-hua, and that several tribes threw over the yoke. *Cf.* E. Rocher, *La province Chinoise du Yunnan* (Paris, 1879), vol. i. p. 166.

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Emperor was recognized by them, and this shadow of authority was sufficient to guard the susceptibility of the central power (1384 A.D.). The paternal administration of Wu San-kuei, and his final revolt at the beginning of the present dynasty, had loosened the reins to such an extent that in the end the Chinese Government was compelled to conquer the region, which was finally subdued in 1775 A.D. Ba-t'ang Li-tang and Tchung-tien,[1] the latter in the south near Li-Kiang, indicate the extension of the newly incorporated country, including the Mo-so dominion, a part of which was then again under Tibetan rule.

2. *Description.*

59. From inquiries and a long habitat on the spot, the renowned Père A. Desgodins was able to collect some valuable facts and information on this interesting and once powerful tribe. Formerly they had a flourishing empire covering a large area. It extended northwards to Dzo-gong on the Ngu-kiu or Ou-kio river, to the salt-mines near and above Yerkalo on the Lan-tsang Kiang, and to Dzong-ngu in the Kin-sha Kiang basin.[2] The above missionary has often seen, in his travels on the borders of the Lan-tsang Kiang and on those of the Lu-tze Kiang, numerous ruins of houses and forts, remains of Mo-so military posts and colonies, built by them after their conquest of the salt-mines' region from the Tibetans three or four hundred years ago.[3] The capital was Li-Kiang, which the Tibetans and the native chiefs call Sadam,[4] and the name of their king was *Mu Tien Wang* (*i.e.* the Celestial King Mu), whose family[5] is still in existence and numerous.

[1] On Mr. E. C. Baber's map, *Djedam* is written under the name of Tchung-tien, half-way between Li-Kiang and Bat'ang (Vid. *Travels and Researches*, p. 93); but as he does not give his authority, we do not know which of the two conflicting statements is genuine.

[2] Desgodins, *La Mission du Tibet*, p. 258.

[3] Père A. Desgodins, *Notes Ethnographiques sur le Thibet*, in *Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, Juillet, 1879, pp. 10-12.

[4] Under the Han dynasty it was called 定筰 *Ting-tso* (*Cf.* Playfair, *The Cities and Towns of China*, n. 4147). *Sadam* is perhaps the same two syllables inverted with a dialectal pronunciation. The case would not be isolated in that part of China, as we know several other instances of the same phenomenon. *Cf. Teng-yueh*, which was also *Yueh-tan*.

[5] From p. 21 we are informed that the members of the tribe in the prefecture

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60. Though destroyed as an independent power, and without any chance of ever recovering it by themselves, the Mo-so are still preponderant in the country of their former greatness. Nearly all the indigenous chiefs are Mo-so, holding appointments for life from the Chinese Government under the rule of Chinese mandarins. The natives occupy only the secondary posts, yet, as their authority has a family character and is hereditary, they have a good deal of influence on the people. It is specially so in the territories of Aten-tze and Wei-si, going southwards from Yerkalo on the borders of the Lan-tsang, that the greater number of the officers are Mo-so.

61. They are deeply despised by the Tibetans, who call them *Djiong*.[1] P. Desgodins says that to call somebody *Guiong-god*, i.e. Mo-so-head, is an insult in frequent use, which he explains by the low character of the Mo-so communities[2] in Tibet, probably of mixed blood. A great traveller and charming writer, Mr. E. Colborne Baber, has seen at Tatsienlu, a popular Tibetan poem, rather epic than lyric, in the world-wide metre of "Twinkle, twinkle, little star," recounting the invasion of part of Tibet by the Mo-so. "The epic is styled *Djiung Ling* (Mo-so Division), and is only one of three parts of a very extensive work known as the *Djriung Yi*, or "Story-book." Another part, called *Hor Ling* (Hor Division), recounts the conquest of the Hor (Turk tribes) by the Tibetans, and conveys much historical information in a tale of magic and marvel. The third part, *Djia Ling* (Chinese Division),

of Li-Kiang are all surnamed *Ho* 和, but intermarriages are not on this account forbidden (as would be the case according to Chinese customs), so that there are at least two great subtribes among the Mo-so, the *Mu* and the *Ho*.

[1] *Guiong* = *Djiung*. The latter orthography is that of Mr. Colborne Baber, *Travels and Researches in Western China*, p. 88*n*. In H. A. Jaeschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*, p. 75, I find a word *gyong-*, meaning, "rough, rude, impolite," but I do not find anything like *god*, with the meaning of 'head,' in the same work. The latter word is apparently a dialectal form corresponding to the ancient Chinese GET, modern *hiet*, *hieh*.

[2] "Aux vices des Tibetains dont j'ai parlé ailleurs, dit le courageux missionaire, il faut ajouter un esprit chicanier, querelleux, ladre et aimant les procès; ajoutez à cela l'ivrognerie et vous aurez une idée de ces êtres dégradés. Quant aux traits physiques ils sont bien altérés et ne representent plus le vrai type Mosso, cependant en peut le reconnaître à certains caractères; front plus fuyant, nez plus aquilin, les deux os maxillaires inférieurs moins écartés, menton plus fuyant que chez le Thibétain . . . ." *Notes Ethnographiques sur le Thibet*, *l.c.*

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narrates a contest of unknown date between the Tibetans and the Chinese." [1]

62. A Chinese notice gives some details of their customs and habits which are worth reproducing here, and concern mainly those who inhabit the prefecture of Li-Kiang:

"Their houses are huts built of boards, with walled doors. As to their clothing, the men pierce their ears, wearing pendants made of a green stone. Their hair is arranged in a twist under a black cap. They wear coats with long collars and wide sleeves, fastened either with a red girdle or a green flowered sash. The women wear short jackets, pointed caps, and cylindrical skirts, finely plaited and fastened with a gay-coloured embroidered girdle. Over all they wear a sheepskin cloak. On the death of a parent, neither coffin nor shell is used, but the body is burned and the bones scattered in a deserted place. A half-burnt log is brought home, and to it sacrifices are offered. The prevailing religion is Buddhism, and Lamas are held in great respect. But they have also other ceremonies. On New Year's Day the members of each family burn incense and take a ceremonial bath. Then with incense in their hands, and carrying rice on their backs, they all repair to the building containing their family altar. The priestess of their rites is respectfully entreated to offer prayers and sacrifices on their behalf. These ceremonies, which last for eleven days, are called 'Days of sacrifice,' and are intended to ensure a happy year. Again, in the 6th and 11th moons, the priestess, at their instance, plants a branch of chestnut, as 'branch for the gods to roost on,' and offers ancestral sacrifices. Their land being too cold to grow rice, they live on barley, darnel, and various other grains." [2]

63. With the preceding remarks it is useful to compare the following description, from the *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*,[3] more recent in date, and showing the gradual *sinicisation* of the tribe.

"The Mosos . . . are quite Chinese in appearance, the men wearing the common blue cotton jacket and short wide trousers of

[1] *Vid.* E. Colborne Baber, *Travels and Researches in Western China*, p. 88.

[2] G. M. H. Playlair, *The Miao-tzŭ of Kweichau and Yunnan*, n. 21. A. 108, 63, gives only a part of the same text. Vid. *China before the Chinese*, s.v.

[3] *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce in Pigtails and Petticoats; or, An Overland Journey from China towards India*, by T. T. Cooper, London, 1871, 8vo. pp. 312-315.

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China, shaving their heads and growing the pig-tail. The custom of the women is fantastic, but graceful. It consists of a very becoming little cap of red and black cloth, with pendant tassel, jauntily worn on the top of the head, inclining a little to one side; a short loose jacket, with long wide sleeves, over a tight-fitting cotton bodice, covering the breasts; with a kilt-like petticoat of home-made cotton stuff, reaching from the waist to the knee, and gathered in longitudinal plaits. Instead of stockings, their finely-shaped limbs are swathed from the ankle to the knee with white or blue cotton cloth, while leather shoes, turned up in a sharp point at the toe, complete the *chaussure* of the Moso ladies, who, though not quite so fair as the Chinese, are generally well-proportioned and good-looking, and unembarrassed by the shy reserve of the fair Celestials. As ornament they wear huge silver earrings (resembling in shape the handle of a common key), silver rings and bracelets, and bead necklaces."[1]

At Ya-tse (the *Jê-tche* of P. Desgodins[2]) the women often substitute for the little cap "a red cloth hood thickly braided with cowrie shells."

The Moso chief of Ya-tse is the most powerful ruler of all the tribes along the Lan-tsang Kiang. He rules over the Moso and the Liso tribes, and collects the taxes in the name of the Chinese government represented by the Mandarin in residence at Wei-si.

3. *Writing.*

64. As to their language and writing, what we know on the matter comes, again, mainly from the indefatigable missionary, Père Desgodins. He was able, in 1867, to make a copy of several pages from a manuscript written in hieroglyphics, and belonging to a Tom-ba or Tong-ba, a medicine man among the Mo-sos. These pages, eleven in number, were sent to his family, and much later on, in 1879, I received eight of them through the kindness of the learned

[1] T. T. Cooper, *ibid*, p. 314. This traveller has mistaken the names of Ya-tse and Mooquor (Mukua) as appellatives of tribes instead of localities.

[2] *Mots principaux de certaines tribus qui habitent les bords du Lan-tsang Kiang, du Lou-tze-Kiang et Irrawaddy*, par l'Abbé Desgodins, missionnaire au Thibet (Yerkalo, 26 Mai, 1872); *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, vi. serie, t. iv.

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Mr. Gerard de Rialle, and I kept these sheets with the intention of publishing them, as soon as more information should come forward.

65. In the mean time a genuine manuscript of the same writing had reached the British Museum. The lamented Capt. W. Gill, during his famous journey with his faithful companion, Mr. Mesny, had been able to secure three of these MSS. while staying at Ku-deu, on the Tibeto-Chinese frontier east of Li-t'ang.[1] Two of them were sent to Jersey, the seat of Mr. Mesny's family; and an enquiry from me there remained unanswered.[2] The other MS. was presented by Capt. Gill himself to the British Museum.[3] The donor was not aware of their exact nationality; he had obtained them from two men of rather European and specially French appearance, who offered them for sale. Apparently these men were Lolos, who had obtained possession of the MSS. by plunder of Mo-so people, as the latter would never have parted willingly with books so scarce and valuable to them.

66. However, the MS. in the Oriental Department was described only as a "Hieroglyphic Book of Prayers from the Mountains between Burma and China." It had remained there for a while when, attracted by the above title, I examined it and recognised the Mo-so writing, with the general features of which I was familiar since the copies from Père Desgodins had reached me. Col. Yule was informed at once of this discovery, and inserted in his remarkable *Geographical Introduction* (then in type) to Capt. Gill's *The River of Golden Sand*,[4] a few notes embodying the result of my first examination.

67. In an amiable letter from Darjiling, April 25th, 1882, Père Desgodins had the extreme kindness to send me some more details about this writing in answer to several ques-

[1] The fact is not recorded in the published record of his journey, but I have it from the traveller himself.

[2] Capt. Gill was not more successful than myself in a similar attempt.

[3] Add. MSS. Or. 2162. Published in fac-simile on Plates I. II. herewith.

[4] *The River of Golden Sand; being the Narrative of a Journey through China and Eastern Tibet to Burma; London*, 1880, 2 vols. 8vo. Introd. pp. 90–2.

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tions of mine. They do not match exactly with what we expected from the former rather vague statements, viz. that this writing, now obsolete, was formerly current among the people. However, they are extremely important for the general theory of writing, inasmuch as they do not pretend to show in that peculiar hieroglyphical writing any survival of former times. According to these views, should they prove correct, it was apparently made up for the purpose by the tombas or medicine-men. This would explain, perhaps, the anomalous mixture of imperfect and bad imitations of ancient seal characters of China, pictorial figures of animals and men, bodies and their parts, with several Tibetan and Indian characters and Buddhist emblems. The superfetation and addition of the Chinese, Tibetan, Indian, and Buddhist signs are obvious, while the pictorial ground of the writing with peculiarities of its own is no less visible. The tails of animals, caps of men, etc., are modified according to the sentence; on the other hand, these occasional additions are also used independently. This feature deserves more attention than would be supposed; should we get a phonetic rendering and a translation of these texts, those appendices might turn to be phonetic complements.

68. Now let us return to the simple facts and statements as they were communicated to us by this energetic and intelligent missionary. "These hieroglyphics," according to his letter, which we translate verbatim, "are not, properly speaking, a writing, still less the current writing of the tribe. The sorcerers or Tong-bas alone use it when invited by the people to recite these so-called prayers, accompanied with ceremonies and sacrifices, and also to put some spells on somebody, a speciality of their own. They alone know how to read them and understand their meaning; they alone are acquainted with the value of these signs, combined with the numbers of the dice and other implements of divination which they use in their witchcraft. Therefore these hieroglyphics are nothing else than signs more or less symbolical and arbitrary, known to a small number of initiated, who transmit their knowledge to their eldest son and successor

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in their profession of sorcerers. Such is the exact value of the Mo-so manuscripts; they are not a current and common writing; they are hardly a sacred writing in the limits indicated above."[1]

69. Yet we cannot help thinking that this sacred writing embodies survivals of the pictorial stage of notation independent of synchronical dates and progresses elsewhere, which seems (within their limited area of self-progress) to be proper to all races of mankind, the white race with exceptions. The latter was more often satisfied with systems of notation more symbolical and conventional; simple combinations of dots and strokes, straight, curved or spiral lines, round and deep as cup-marks or angular and square, were sufficient for them, while the inferior races have always wanted, and have made a more material and eye-speaking system of notation. We may be sure that pictorial writings have crept up everywhere, though very few have survived in the struggle of civilizations; the long period required for their passing through the pictographic and ideographic phases was not allowed to them, and the untimely intrusion of an older and more perfected system, or another one better fitted to the surrounding circumstances, superseded them altogether.

70. The only possible life for still-born writings of that description is that which lingers in obscure corners of superstition and witchcraft. We think that this Mo-so writing may be an instance of the fact, excepting the modifications introduced in the mean time for the purpose of those who use it. And we can support this view by the reproduction, in the learned work of Emil von Schlagintweit, *On Buddhism in Thibet*, of charms found by his brother Robert v. S. during his journeys there. On some of these charms are drawn hieroglyphical signs, which are not without analogy with those of the MSS. drawn by the Mo-so sorcerers. Now, the Schlagintweits

[1] Letter from Père Desgodins to the author, dated from Darjiling, 21 Avril, 1882. In forwarding this letter, the amiable Mr. Desgodins, of Nancy, brother of the Missionary, had the kindness to send me two pages and a half more of MS., completing the whole of the copy made by Père Desgodins from the Tong-ba's MS. Published in fac-simile on Plate III. herewith.

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did reach Tibet, but only the western part of the country, and the finding there of specimens not unconnected with that writing indicates for it, or at least for the rougher ground script from which it has been evolved, a much larger area than could otherwise be supposed. As the Mo-so have not taught the western Tibetans any more than they did the eastern, from whom, on the contrary, they have learned so much, we must understand the ground of this writing to be of Tibetan origin of unknown date. The inference is plain and cannot be impugned. It requires the attention of future explorers of Tibet, when this forbidden land is open to scientific researches.

71. Up to Père Desgodins' discovery nobody had ever heard of any writing among the Mo-sos. The Chinese documents do not mention this accomplishment of theirs. And the late Mr. Cooper, to whom we are indebted for not a few details on the same people, positively states that they have no writing of their own.[1] If the existence of this acquirement has remained unheard of so long, through the secrecy kept by the very few men acquainted with it, we must expect the same difficulty in Tibet. The notice of the latter country in the annals of the T'ang Dynasty,[2] states that in the sixth century the Tibetans had no written characters, and used notched sticks and knotted strings in their covenants. We know how very little is proved by negative testimonies of this kind, in a case like that which we put forward. The above-quoted instances are cases to the point. And we must leave the matter as a moot question to be elucidated by further researches and new materials for study.

72. It is not uninteresting to remark here that a kind of embryo picture-writing, understood by none but the meetway or Toomsah, *i.e.* priest, has been pointed out among the Kakhyens of Upper Burma. The description is interesting to quote.

[1] *Travels of a Pioneer of Commerce*, vid. above, § 8.

[2] *Vid.* the able translation of this notice with annotations by Dr. S. W. Bushell, *The Early History of Thibet*, p. 440 in *J.R.A.S.* 1880, Vol. XII.; and also Dr. K. Ganzenmuller, *Tibet*, Stuttgart, 1878, p. 103.

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We extract the following from a paper on these people, published in a periodical [1] in 1882:

"A formal avenue always exists as the entrance to a Kachyen village .... On each side of the broad grassy pathway are a number of bamboo posts, four feet high or thereabouts, and every ten paces or so, taller ones, with strings stretching across the path, supporting small stars of split rattan and other emblems. There are also certain hieroglyphics which may constitute a kind of embryo picture-writing, but are understood by none but the meetway or priest."

At the following page (p. 471), we hear of the meetway or toomsah. In the latter we have, perhaps, a cognate appellative of the Tom-ba of the Mo-so; *ba* being probably the Tibetan suffix.

There is no apparent connection between the system of hanging up symbols and hieroglyphics and that of the Mo-so writing, excepting that in the latter there are signs and symbols which might be compared to those of the Kakhyens. From the proximity of the two peoples, and the higher standard of the Mo-so writing, it might be supposed that the Kakhyen *toomsahs* are the pupils of the Mo-so *tombas*.

73. Père Desgodins has inquired if, previously to their absorption by China, the Mo-so had a writing of their own, besides these hieroglyphics; but he was unable to obtain any information on the matter. In these days the Mo-so of the south, *i.e.* those who reside about Li-Kiang on the borders of the Kin-sha Kiang, and about Wei-si and Aten-tze on the Lan-tsang Kiang, being Chinese subjects, use exclusively the Chinese characters. Those of the north, between 29° and 30° N. lat., in the region conquered by them from the Tibetans, use Tibetan characters. Notwithstanding this difference of writing and influences, their language has been preserved, and they use it between themselves with a mixture of Chinese or of Tibetan according to the region which obliges them to speak also either Chinese or Tibetan.

[1] *Cornhill Magazine* (Oct. 1882, pp. 466–476) by Shway Yoe (Mr. J. G. Scott, once resident in Burma, and the author of the best book ever written on its subject, *The Burman*, London, 1882, 2 vols. 8vo.).

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4. *Linguistic.*

74. We have no grammar nor current text of their language. A short vocabulary of some 200 words has been published by Père Desgodins from notes taken by his colleagues, PP. Q. Biet, F. Biet, and J. Dubernard,[1] as follows:

1	djre lu	*stone*	lou
2	gni lu	*iron*	chou
3	se lu	*silver*	ngou
4	lo lu	*gold*	ha
5	ngoa lu	*copper*	heu (*red*), eu
6	tchoa lu		(*yellow*)
7	che lu	*air*	heu
8	ho lu	*body*	goumo
9	ngo lu	*head*	koulu
10	tsê lu	*eyes*	men
11	tsê djre lu	*ears*	hè tze
12	tsê gni lu	*nose*	gni ma
13	tsê se lu	*mouth*	kroube
14	tsê lo lu	*hand*	la
15	tsê ngoa lu	*belly*	deu men
16	tsê tchoa lu	*foot*	kheu
17	tsê che lu	*eat*	dzé
18	tsê ho lu	*drink*	tchré
19	tsê ngo lu	*food*	ha
20	gni tsê lu	*rice*	tchoa
100	djre chi	*tea*	lé
1000	tong tchra	*flesh*	chi
heaven	mou	*butter*	marpeur
sun	gni mê	*salt*	tsê
moon	hê mê tze	*tobacco*	yo
star	kheu	*father*	aba-aou
day	gni	*mother*	amè
month	hê	*brother*	bezé
year	khou	*sister*	mèhè
earth	mou deu	*son*	zo
world	dzom bou ling	*daughter*	mi
water	guié	*master*	daha
wood	sé	*chief officer*	su-mouquoi-aqua

[1] *Mots principaux de certains tribus . . . . loc. cit.*

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servant	guieu zo	*plain*	pa tzc lo
house	guié da	*river*	i bi guii
door	kho	*field*	mou deu
window	kho-ka-go tchra	*grass field*	ko khou
roof	kia kou	*rock*	hâ
kitchen range	koua	*cloth*	bala
stable	tso bou	*girdle*	bouke
animal	goghé	*boots*	zâ
horse	joa	*knife*	je té
ox	léghé	*sword*	dapia-dapre
cow	ghé mé	*soul*	oua hê
dog	khé	*to love*	chi to ba
cat	ha lé	*to think*	choun drou
bird	â	*to be*	mou
fowl	â mè	*to have*	guiou
sheep	iu	*to will*	djra-djro da
goat	tsi	*to do*	fou
red	hu lu	*to speak*	chado
white	pe sa	*to rejoice*	ba
blue	he le	*pain*	chou djrou guiem mâ bâ
green	guiong ko		
black	na mê	*rich*	hè la gni
mountain	guieu khou	*poor*	ma hâ

75. The words must be read as French. Though several errors have crept in, through the MS. copies and the printing, the affinities of the language are obvious. The common words with the Li-so are more than fifty per cent., and the proportion of Tibetan and Burmese is considerable. The grammar seems to be in accordance with the dictionary, and shows, like that of the Li-so dialect, Burmese features, so that the classification of the Mo-so language must be easy. It must be put down as a member of the specially Burmese division of the great Tibeto-Burmese family.

As materials for the study of the language, in addition to the above vocabulary, we have one word and a single phrase which have been collected by the late Francis Garnier.[1] The word is *hantse* "manger," for which meaning we find in Père Desgodins' vocabulary *dzé*. The phrase is *Khépa khé*

[1] *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine*, vol. i. p. 520*n*.

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tche ma seu, lit. "Chinese I do not know the language," or "I do not know the Chinese language."

76. With several other languages of the same region and some of southern Yunnan and Indo-China, they form a group or subdivision well delimitated (to which, however, several more will have to be added in the sequel) in the great Tibeto-Burmese family of languages, with a special connection to the Burmese and some Taï-Shan ingredients, as follows:

Living Languages.	Branches.	Classes.	Sub-Div.
Dialects of the Laka or Lokuei (Szetchuen-Yunnan)	——	North-ern.	Laka.
,, ,, Li-so or Leisu (N. W. Yunnan) ...			
,, ,, Mo-so or Na-shi (N. W. Yunnan)			
,, ,, Mu-tse (MuongLim, N. Indo-China)	——	South-ern.	
,, ,, Kouy (Siemlap, N. Indo-China) ...			
,, ,, Ka-to (S. Yunnan)	——		
,, ,, Ho-nhi (S. Yunnan)			
,, ,, Ka-kho (Paleo, N. Indo-China) ...	——		

5. *Ethnology.*

77. Ethnologically the position of the Mo-so cannot be ascertained otherwise than in its main lines. They belong, in their underlying original type, to the same group of populations that the *Nung=Njung=Jung* tribes which appeared on the west borders of China as early as the sixteenth century before our era. The name of *Djiung*, by which they are known to the Tibetans, belongs undoubtedly to them as a survival of the general name quoted above, which is also represented in that of the *A-nung* or Lu-tze, their cognates in Eastern Tibet. In the other name they give to themselves, *Na-shi*,[1] it is not at all unlikely that we have a modern appearance of an old name of the same group, which the Chinese once in former times rendered by the punning transcription of *Niu-tze* 女子, alluding to some gynecocratic customs of their own. We know so little of the Mo-so habits and traditional institutions that we are still unable to corroborate this probability by any survival of the kind other than the priestess mentioned above (§ 62).

[1] Is this *na* the same as the Tibetan *nag*, 'woman,' the old Chinese *nok*?

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78. Unless we venture to see another survival underlying the very name of *Mo-so* given to them by the Chinese, the vocabulary from Père Desgodins does not contain the word for 'woman.' Should it be *mo*, as in Tibetan, or *mu*, 'mother,' as in Chinese, combined with *zo*, which is their very word for 'son' (Chinese *tze*), we could translate *Mo-zo* as 'woman son,' corresponding exactly to the old *Niu-tze* or (?) *Na-shi*, and now objectionable to them because they have dropped a long while ago the gynecocratic institutions which once justified it for foreigners. We give this suggestion for what it is worth, and shall not dwell more upon it, as ample confirmation is found of the existence of such institutions in the history and customs of other cognate tribes, such as the *Lakas* or *Lolos*.

79. The connection of the *Mo-so* is narrower with the *Li-so* than with any other tribe. Their parentage is openly admitted in a legend of the country which says that the *Li-so* and *Mo-so*, of Burmese origin, were driven away on elephants from the latter's country.[1] The genuineness of the story requires confirmation, as the same legend is told by the Pwons near the third defile (Kyandwen) of the Irawady.[2] Does this indicate a parentage between them? It is not at all unlikely; the Pwons do not speak a Tai language, and they are connected with the *Kadus*, who belong to the same stock as the *Mo-so* and *Li-so*. We must see probably in this curious tradition embodying the souvenir of a small historical fact, the popular and widespread expression of a conscious knowledge of original parentage with the main stock of the Burmese, upheld and maintained because of the high estate of the latter. The historical fact is worth considering, since it might help to the elucidation of a point of Burmese history. The current tradition says that, about the commencement of the religious era, or partly during Gautama's lifetime, the town of Tagaung (built on the left side of the Irawady, 300 years before the *birth* of Gautama, by Abhiraja, who had

[1] Mentioned by Père Desgodins in his paper, *Mots principaux*, etc., *loc. cit.*

[2] *Vid.* Ney Elias, *Sketch of the History of the Shans*, Calcutta. 1876, 8vo. p. 12.—And also below, § 100, Addenda.

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migrated from Kapilavastu)[1] was taken by an invasion of Taruk or Taret tribes coming from a country to the east, called Gandalarît, in the land of Tsin or Sin, which corresponds with Yunnan.

80. Now, the only tidings we have, from the Chinese side, connected with an event of that kind, goes back to the middle of the fourth century B.C. After his accession to the throne, in 338 B.C., the King Wei of the *Teru* or *Tsu* State[2] despatched an army to the south-west, and his general, Tchwang Kiao, subdued part of Yunnan, and Tchwang Hao his son (?) became King of *Tchen* or *Tsen* 真 (now written *Tien* 滇). This name, which, by the way, is extremely interesting, as it became that by which China was known to the southern traders from the west, was selected because of the large central water of the region, now the lake of Yunnan fu; the word *Tchen*[3] in the language of the region meaning "water." Now we have here the *Tsin* of the Burmese legend without doubt, and in that of the mother-country of the prince-family, the State of Teru (mod. Tsu), of which the new State was the real offshoot, we might find the very name which appears in the legend under the double form of Taruk or Taret.

81. To conciliate the statement of Burmese history with the date of the Chinese record, we must admit a rectification of the chronology of the southern Buddhists as proposed by some scholars, and premise the great probability that the establishment of the new State of *Tsen* in Yunnan had a direct influence on some more meridional regions. Either by a migration southwards of tribes dislodged by the new kingdom, or by, what is more in accordance with the spirit of the legend, the new ruler himself pushing further south his attempts at conquest. In the latter probability he

[1] *Cf.* Ney Elias, *loc. cit.*; Major H. R. Spearman, *British Burma Gazetteer*, vol. i. p. 236; Sir Arthur Phayre, *History of Burma* (London, 1883. 8vo), p. 8.

[2] More is said of this once famous and important state in my introduction on *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, to A. R. Colquhoun's book, *Amongst the Shans* (London, 1885, 8vo.). Excerpt, pp. 27-8.

[3] We find this word connected with the following which will have the same meaning: Tchung Miao JEN; Singpho NTSIN; Kakhyen INTZIN; Munnipuri ISHING, etc.

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had to utilize some intermediary tribes as elephant-drivers, a fact which is part of the tradition kept by the *Pʏons*, and partly still impressed in that of the *Mo-so* and *Li-so*.

82. The wave of migration of all these tribes, we might say of the race altogether, is strongly marked from north to south; the occasional retrogression of a tribe or two under peculiar circumstances has nothing to do with the general movement which, for ages and ages, let us say forty centuries at the least, has been proper to the various populations which can be traced back to the Kuen-lun range as to their cradle within historic times.

IV. Alphabet in Tibet.

83. Tibet enjoys now the privilege of being *The Forbidden Land* for Europeans. It is not long ago that another land could boast of the same position, but the barriers are now removed, and since last year Corea is open to Western influence. It will before long be the same with Tibet. The jealous monks who hold the country do not yet allow, under any conditions, Europeans to overstep its frontiers. And it could be considered as nearly certain still lately that the supreme authority of the Chinese government would not be respected, should it yield to pressure and authorize the entrance of Europeans into this abode and refuge of decayed and corrupted Buddhism.

But, we may be sure that from one side or the other, the opening of the country must take place at no distant date, apparently through India by mutual interest of trade (Vid. *Addenda*). Yet many years must elapse before any scientific exploration can be made. And even then a long time will pass before the country shall have revealed its secrets. Indeed, we cannot foresee what archæological researches, regularly made, may disclose in monuments, rock inscriptions, etc.

So far as our present subject is concerned, we have already from Chinese, Tibetan, and other sources, some valuable information, which, in my opinion, will prove interesting when put together. The country by itself is not

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rich. It is thinly inhabited. It offers by itself little incitement to civilization, which has to come from the outside. Hence the information bears more on the outskirts than on the interior of the country. Its central position in Asia has made it witness, all around its borders, to several evolutions, derivations, progresses and decays of importance for the history of writing in the East as seen throughout this memoir.

84. The hitherto scattered and independent groups of tribes occupying the country now known as Tibet proper were submitted and organized into a regular government (towards 434 A.D.) by Tupöt Fanni,[1] who gave his family surname to his new country.[2] This surname meant "Prince of the Land."[3] He was a scion of the Tartar dynasty known as Southern Liang, which ruled in Kansuh on the N.W. of China, with its capital at Liang-tchou, from 397 to 415 A.D.[4]

The Tupöt are more generally known among scholars from the modern pronunciation of the Chinese transcriptions of their name: Tu-fah, Tu-poh, To-poh, all interchangeable, and from the form To-pa adopted by De Guignes in his wonderful work *Histoire des Huns*.[5]

85. We have seen above that *Tu-pöt* Fanni was a scion of the Southern Liang dynasty; he belonged to the same stock as the famous Wei dynasty which ruled over the north of China from 386 to 535 A.D. The family name of this dynasty was *Tu-pat*, like that of the Southern Liang; there is only a slight difference in the Chinese transcriptions 托跋 and 禿髮, both pointing to the same sounds and not much diversified since then.

86. The To-pat were a division of the Sien-pi[6] race, according

[1] *Cf.* a valuable paper by Dr. S. W. Bushell of Peking. *The Early History of Tibet, from Chinese Sources*, in *J.R.A.S.* 1880, Vol. XII. pp. 435-541. Vid. p. 440. Since, a very promising scholar, Mr. W. Woodville Rockhill, has compiled from Tibetan sources *The Early History of Bod-yul* (*Tibet*), pp. 203-229 of his valuable work *The Life of the Buddha* (London, 1884).

[2] I have treated at length this question in a special paper: *Tibet: why so called?*

[3] *Annals of the Wei dynasty* or *Weishu* in *Tai-ping yü-lan*, bk. 800, f. 1v., and bk. 101, f. 1.

[4] Cf. *Li-tai Ti-wang-nien-piao*, E. Tsin, ff. 11-13.

[5] Vid. *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. part i. pp. 197-198.

[6] The Coreans are still called Sien-pi by the Japanese.

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to the Chinese annalists, and so far were connected with the Coreans and the Mandchus Tungus. We know several branches of them, almost all great and powerful. Besides the ruling families of the mighty Wei, the petty southern Liang dynasties of China, and the dynasty of Tibet, they formed one of the six chief tribes of the Tang-hiang, the *To-po* 扤 波, the descendants of which tribe established the kingdom of Si-Hia, ruling over Tangut and the north-west of China from 982 to 1227 A.D.[1]

A subdivision of the To-pat 托跋 has formed the nucleus of the 蠕蠕 *Ju-Ju*, or *Ju-Juan*,[2] a separate tribe of the Hiung-nu according to the Chinese annals. They dwelt originally in the country of Kalka, on the frontier of Siberia, and constituted a regular and dynastic power with 18 rulers from 402 to 554 A.D.[3] Destroyed by the Turks, they fled westwards and passed the Volga in 555 A.D.; they were the same as the *Ouar-k'umi*, the ancestors of the (language of the) now much mixed Avars of the Caucasus.[4] [5]

Several tribes of the same stock, under the name of *Tu-pöt* 都 波, are mentioned at thirteen days' journey north of the Uighurs, and three of them had their dwellings south of the Baïkal Lake.

87. The Bods or early occupiers of Tibet were still in a state of barbarism when some occasional refugees from India, and especially Nepal, reached them. And it is doubtful if they had arrived at any higher standard when they

[1] Cf. *Tang shu*, in *T.P.y.L.*, Bk. 795 f. 3 v.; where it is written 拓 拔, a variant which leaves no doubt as to the equivalence of all these forms.

[2] Also read *Juan-Juan* and *Jan-Jan*.

[3] *Nan she* 南 史 (420-589 A.D.), monography of the *Y meh* 夷 貊 傳 in *K'anghi tze tien*, 142 + 14, f. 64.—Vid. above §§ 13, 27.

[4] They were the first who are known to have used the title of *K'an*. Vid. Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. (1) p. 188.

[5] Their chief relationship was with the *Jurtchi*, *Dzhurtshit*, *Tshurtshit*, *Zhudzhi*, otherwise *Nyudzhi*, *Neu-chin*, *Nio-tchi*, and *Tchortchog* (Uighur orthography), *Juryeh*, *Juryi* (Persian orthography), also *Soh-shin*, *Nuhtchi* (in older Chinese transcriptions), of which the names of the *Tchachourche* and *Nakhtchusi* are perhaps survivals in the Caucasus. I have found myself many affinities between the Awar and the Mandchu languages in vocabulary and ideology. The Caucasian affinities of languages of the far East have been pointed out by Klaproth, Latham, Norris, Logan, Hodgson, Charencey, Schiefner, etc., but have not yet been established on a scientific footing.

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were conquered at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. by Tupöt Fanni.

They were in that simple stage of civilization where the absence of needs and no incitement from the outside leave man at liberty to forget and drop any earlier acquirements hence useless and not required for the satisfaction of his daily wants.[1] From the low stage of culture which the ancient Tibetans occupied, we are not free to infer that such had always been their social state. We do not know from whence they came, nor what was the degree of civilization of the stock from which they had separated. Tribes reduced by surrounding circumstances strictly to the satisfaction of the wants of nature, cannot fail to lose any previous knowledge and arts which are henceforth of no use to them. They must adapt themselves to their new circumstances of life. And if any high acquirement comes abruptly within their reach, they are unable to understand and grasp it.

88. Before the reign of their famous king, *Srong btsan sgam-po* (629–698 A.D.), the Tibetans had no writing. Notched sticks and knotted cords were their means of communication, but we have no information on these processes, nor on their likeness or non resemblance to similar devices in use among neighbouring nations.[2] We have the bare statement of the fact in the Chinese Annals of the T'ang dynasty. But in the Tibetan traditions, with the exception of the following, there is no known reference to these rude means of communication. In E. Schlagintweit's *Könige von Tibet*, we read that "the five principal sages of the country glorified the (first) king[3] in records in gold and turquoises," a statement which may be taken as an allusion to the former use of a sort of quippos or wampums.

[1] *Cf.* my remarks in my paper on *The Cradle of the Shan Race*, in excerpt, pp. 6–9. It was printed before the valuable article of Prof. Max Müller, *The Savage*, appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1885.

[2] Vid. *The Early History of Tibet, from Chinese Sources*, by Dr. S. W. Bushell, in *J.R.A.S.* Vol. XII. 1880, pp. 435–541. Cf. p. 440.

[3] This first king was *Gnya-Khri btsan-po*, who ruled five hundred years before the birth of the King Thotori, according to Csoma's *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 194.

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We have said above all that can be said on the subject. Cf. §§ 4, 15.[1]

89. One of the first occupations of Srong-btsan was, apparently, to obtain a writing for the Tibetan language. Tradition says that Buddhist books had appeared in the country five generations previously;[2] should it not be altogether spurious, we might premise this appearance to be the incitement, which became ripe under the reign of the above king. He seems to be the first ruler with real power who was enabled to turn his attention to the welfare and advancement of his subjects.

Srong-btsan soon after the beginning of his reign sent a mission of seven nobles to India for that purpose, but they were unable to find a route, and so returned without having accomplished their object.[3] Such a failure does not prove much in favour of former and regular relations between the two countries.

90. The King, however, was not at all disheartened, and in the third year of his reign (632 A.D.) he sent Tongmi Samb'oṭa, son of Anu, with sixteen companions, to study carefully the Sanskrit language and thereby obtain access to the sacred literature of the Indian Buddhists. He also instructed them to devise means for the invention of a written language for Tibet by adapting the Sanskrit alphabet to the phonetic peculiarities of the Tibetan dialect. So we are told, but we must cut down a good deal of the device as an afterthought of the compilers of traditions. Such a scheme could not have been thought of as here stated, without a previous knowledge in Tibet of Sanskrit and Buddhist notions, which would lead one to suppose some relations with India, and consequently makes more unintelligible the previous

[1] Cf. *The Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order*, derived from Tibetan works, in the Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur. Followed by notices on *The Early History of Tibet and Khoten*. Translated by W. Woodville Rockhill, Second Secretary U.S. Legation in China. London 1884. 8vo. p. 208.

[2] A copy of the *Za-mag-thog bkod-pai mdo* or *Karandavyuha sûtra*, an almsbowl (*patra*), the six essential syllables (*Om maṇi padme hum*), a golden *tchaitya*, and a clay image of the *chintamaṇi*, are said to have fallen from Heaven in the royal palace (Woodville Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 210).

[3] *Bodhimur*, in Sanang Setsen, p. 327, edit. Schmidt.

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statement about the first mission, and its inability to find a route to go there.[1]

91. Another feature in the report of the second expedition suggests some doubts as to the veracity of the story. The envoy has sixteen companions with him. Now let us remember that the fabulous tradition about the introduction of Buddhism in China in 217 B.C. mentions also seventeen as the number of the missionaries who were under the guidance of Li-fang.[2] And when Han Ming Ti of China despatched, in A.D. 65, Ts'ai-yn to India for inquiries about Buddha and his religion, the Imperial Messenger was sent with seventeen companions.[3] The latter expedition is an historical event, and its record may have suggested the similar number of envoys in remodelling the other traditions. The silence of the original reports concerning that point was supplemented, apparently, by a little imagination from the recorders. But should it be the case, it is not calculated to inspire great confidence in the other features of these traditions. One of them, that concerning the mission of Li-fang, is considered by many, as spurious from beginning to end, though we are not inclined to accept so severe a verdict,

[1] I am indebted to Dr. Wentzel, a fervent pupil of the late Dr. Jaeschke, for the following note:—"A detailed description of the introduction of writing into Tibet is contained in the tenth chapter of the Gyalrabs (*rgyal-rabs*), a history of the kings of Tibet, made use of by Jaeschke for compiling his Dictionary. (Another copy of this work is in the library of the Petersburg Academy, *N.* 433*a* in the catalogue in the *Bullet. hist. phil.* 1851; a third is mentioned in Schlagintweit's *Die Könige von Tibet*, p. 19 of the separate edition from the *Abhandl. d. Kgl. Bayr. Ak.* i. cl. x. iii.) In Jaeschke's copy, the tenth chapter reaches from the end of fol. 29 to the beginning of 34. The substance of it is translated into German (from *Bodhimör*, the Mongolian version of the work) by Schmidt, in the annotations to his edition of Sanang Setzen, *Geschichte des Ost-Mongolen*, p. 327 *sq.* There it is said (fol. 31*b* 3, Schmidt, p. 328) that *Thonmi Sambhota* formed the square writing *Dbu-djan* out of the characters of the gods *Lāñcha*, and the cursive writing (here *zur djan* 'the angular,' properly the *half*-cursive, which itself then was developed to the more current *dbu-min*) out of the characters of the Nāgas, *Vartula*. What Indian alphabet may have had this last name is not known. *Devalipi* and *nāgalipi* occur also side by side among the 64 alphabets that Siddhārta is instructed in (Lal. 144, 2, of the Calcutta edition)."

[2] Cf. Prof. R. K. Douglas, *China*, London, 1882, p. 318.—Rev. Prof. Samuel Beal, *Abstract of Four Lectures on Buddhist Literature in China*, London, 1882, pp. 1-2; *Buddhism in China*, London, 1884, pp. 47-48. The *Po sie lun*, by Fa-lin, where the tradition is reported, was written between A.D. 624-640, according to Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Oxford, 1863, col. 331, *n.* 1500.

[3] Cf. Mayers's *Chinese Reader's Manual*, 340, 754.

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because we think that, after all, the legend might have some foundation.

92. As to the Tibetan expedition, there is no apparent reason to doubt it, with the exception of the additions and embellishments which have been added by the historians. Let us remember that we have no contemporary records nor annals of the time, and that all the knowledge we have from the Tibetan history is derived from native compilations, if not of a late date, at least made many centuries after the events they purpose to record.

93. The Tibetan king furnished the members of the mission with a large quantity of gold to make presents to their Indian professors. After having had to overcome great difficulties on their road, they safely reached their destination in Aryavarta (*i.e.* abode of the Aryas or the whole central region between the Himalaya and Vindya mountains). So says the Baboo Sarat Chandra Das in his *Contributions on Tibet*, from native sources.[1] The *Bodhimur* or Mongolian version of the *rgyal-rabs*,[2] a native history of the kings of Tibet, states that the mission was sent to *Œnæd Kok*[3] to learn the writing of the country. This last name seems to me to be a corrupted form of the Chinese appellation for India, *Yntu-Kuok* or country of Yn-tu 印 度. The same work, as we have it, through I. J. Schmidt,[4] says that it was in Southern India, which I understand to be an indication of the position of India with reference to Tibet, and not at all as the southern part of India.

94. Tong-mi Samb'ota made himself acquainted with the Indian characters, or, as Baboo Sarat Chandra Das says, he

[1] Baboo Sarat Chandra Das, *Contributions on the Religion, History, etc., of Tibet*, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. l. 1881, pp. 187-251; vol. li. 1882, pp. 1-75, 87-128, cf. p. 219.

[2] The title of this important Tibetan work is *Rgyal-rabs-kyi gsal-bai mé-long* or "A bright mirror of the history of kings" (cf. Jaeschke *Tib. Engl. Dict.*, p. 417). It was compiled by the fifth Gyalwa-Rinpochhe, or Great Lama (Sarat Chandra Das, *op. cit.* p. 212).

[3] The name slightly altered was still used in the last century, and figures in D'Anville's map as *Anonkek* or *Anongen*.

[4] Translated by Schmidt in the Annotations to his edition of Sanang Setzen, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, p. 327 sq. Ssanang Setzen Khung taidshi completed in 1662 his work entitled *Mongol Khadun Toghudji* or "A History of the Mongol Khans" (H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, i. xvi.).

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acquired a thorough knowledge of the Sanskrit and of sixty-four different characters known in the Arya land. Surely this is an exaggeration, though the number is reiterated from the sixty-four alphabets that Siddharta is instructed in, as reported in the *Lalita Vistara.*

The envoy and his companions were taught by a Brahman called *Li-byin* (i.e. *Lipikara* or *Livikara,* which means merely "a scribe") all the intricacies of the language and writing, while the pundit *Devavid Singha,* or *Singha-ghosha,* called *Tœngrihn-arkhagan* or *Arsalan* in the Bodhimur, instructed them in the Buddhist books and precepts. After returning to Tibet, Tong-mi Samb'ota framed the system of Tibetan characters in two styles, the *yi-ge dbu-djan,* and the *yi-ge zur-djan.*[1]

95. The *yi-ge dbu-djan,* or, as the name means, the letters furnished with heads, also called *rom-yig*[2] or "thick letters" in the Western provinces, and commonly called *U-djan* by a simplification of the first name in speech, are the ordinary Tibetan characters commonly used now in printing.[3] The legendary

[1] Shang dchoh Khantouktou in the preface to his Tibetan-Mongol Dictionary, states that Taomisamkandra, when back in India framed two Tibetan alphabets, the *tsab* from the *Landza*, and the *char* or *kchar* from the *Vardo*, cf. *Journal Asiatique*, 1822, p. 331.

[2] *Rom* = 'thick, big, stout,' whence *rom-yig* as a distinction from the *p'ra yig* or cursive writing, where *p'ra* means 'thin, fine, minute,' cf. Jaeschke, *Tibet Engl Dict.* pp. 353, 536.

[3] They are said to have retained faithfully the primitive forms which were cut on wooden blocks for printing in the seventh century, soon after their introduction into Tibet (cf. H. Wuttke, *Die Entstehung der Schrift*, p. 471). Printing was introduced from China, where the art was flourishing, especially in the west, on the borderland of Tibet. It began by the habit, still in use, of taking rubbings of engraved stones (*i.e.* of blackening, with a pad, paper squeezed on the inscribed stone, so that the deepened marks appear white on black ground). Such rubbings were in circulation under Han Tchang-ti (A.D. 76), and Tsin Wu-ti (A.D. 265). The engraving of the texts of the sacred books on stone, in A.D. 175, by Tsai-yung, and in A.D. 240-9, afforded facilities for such rubbings. The art was improved in the region of Shuh, *i.e.* Szetchuen, and much used by the Buddhists for the propagation of their texts and images of Buddha. But we do not see it adopted by the Chinese government before the year 593 A.D. for printing the pictures, autographs and neglected texts. Printing on blocks was carried to Korea and Japan, where it was in use in A.D. 764. Two specimens of the latter date printing are in the British Museum. As to the printing with moveable types, the art was known or invented in China circ. 1041-1049 by Pi-shing and improved by Tch'en Kuoh (circ. 1080) and Yang K'oh; most of their types were in clay. A century afterwards printing moveable types in copper were made in Korea. Copies of books so printed later (in 1317) are still in existence.

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account says that they were derived from the holy writing the *lhai yi-ge* or Landza. Now so far as the Landza characters are those that we know in Nepal, the derivation of the *U-djan* from these characters is not borne out by comparison. The connection between the two writings is that of a family parentage and not at all that of a derivation. The similarity presented by the U-djan to the characters of the Gupta inscriptions at Allahabad is, on the other hand, remarkable, and in order to conciliate the tradition with the material evidence, we ought to surmise that the latter characters were at that time considered also as *Landza*. But we have no proof of such a fact, and the whole confusion arose from the embellishments and magnifying details added in later ages.

96. The ancient tradition of the appearance in the country five generations before the king Srong-tsang, of a Buddhist book, which was specially venerated in Nepal,[1] has apparently suggested the precise minutiæ given about a connection of the *Dbu-djan* with the Landza of the latter country, while the only truth is that the Landza was a beautified and ornamented style of writing down the same Indian characters which were used as a pattern for those of Tibet. The *lhai-yi-ge* name in the Tibetan tradition may have the same meaning as Landza, but it has not necessarily the very same characters, and it corresponds undoubtedly to the *devalipi*, "Divine writing," which figures among the sixty-four writings of the list given in the Lalita Vistara, which *devalipi* is not the Landza. The perfect likeness in form exhibited by the *ka-p'reng dbu-djan*[2] to the inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty at Allahabad represent fairly, we have no doubt, the monumental writing, which was used in all the religious monuments at that time, and is quite sufficient to prove that they were imitated from the latter.

The *Ka-smad sum-dju Ka-li*,[3] i.e. the writing in thirty

[1] According to Woodville Rockhill, *op. cit.* p. 210. It is mentioned by Brian H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Language and Literature of Tibet*, vol. i. pp. 17, 37.

[2] *Ka-p'reng dbu-djan*, i.e. the capital alphabet, the same as the *yi-ge dbu-djan*, or more simply *u djan*.

[3] *Sum-dju* = thirty. Cf. Jaeschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 426.

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characters, a general name of the Tibetan writing, includes the *rgya-la med-pai yi-ge drug*,[1] or the six letters which are not existing in Sanskrit.

97. The second of the styles of writing found by Tong-mi Samb'ota was called, as we have seen above, *ye-ge zur-djan*, *i.e.* letters furnished with an angle, or cornered letters, so called from the fact that the upper part or head of the letters were not so regular as in the *dbu-djan* style. He is reported to have derived them from the *Klui-yi-ge* or *Vartula* characters, the two words being considered as equivalent, notwithstanding their respective meanings, which are different. The statement is translated incorrectly by some, as intended to show the derivation of this second writing from that of the Nagas, or simply from the Nagari character,[2] which is another way of escaping the difficulty.[2] Now *Ḳlu* in the Tibetan dictionary of Jaeschke means "serpent demon," and corresponds to the Sanskrit *Naga*. But in the compounds it is written *Klui*, and does not seem to carry on this extreme meaning. For instance, *Klui-skad*, in which *skad* is "language," means the Prâcrit language, *i.e.* the vernacular dialect, in contradistinction to the *rgya-gar skad* or "Sanskrit language," properly the "language of India," in which *rgya-gár*, litt. "white plain," stands for India.[3] In *Klui-skad* we have seen *Klui* corresponding to a peculiar denomination of "that is in common use." It is obviously in the same acceptation that it must be taken in the words *Klui-yi-ge*, which are used for naming the *vartula* character.

98. The latter is the Sanskrit word, meaning "round, circular," which, applied to a writing, is suggestive of the rounded shapes of the cursive characters, in opposition to the angular and straight forms of the monumental or lapidary style. Now, to complete the parallelism, the *nāgalipi* occurs side by side with the *dēvalipi*, among the sixty-four alphabets

[1] Jaeschke, *ibid*, p. 418.

[2] Baboo Sarat Chandra Das arranges it still otherwise, and reads *Wurtu* in his text, while in his note thereon he says, "Wartu is probably the language of the people of Kafiristan and Bactria." Cf. his *Contributions*, loc. cit. p. 2. But the reading *vartula* is quite plain, though arranged after the fashion of the Tibetan lexicographs *vartu-la*.

[3] Jaeschke, *Tib. Dict.* p. 105.

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of the *Lalita Vistara*,[1] as in the Tibetan record the *Klui-yi-ge* and the *lhai-yi-ge* appear together. Indianists do not know what writing was denominated *vartula*, and was the antecedent of the *zur-djan* of Tong-mi Samb'ota. From the great resemblance between the characters of the latter style as they are drawn in its immediate derivative the *dbu-med*, with those of the first style *dbu-djan*, of which they differ only by the thick strokes of the heads, which are absent, and some looseness in the shapes, which are less tight and want regularity, it is quite clear that the two styles, the Indian antecedents of the two styles of Tibet, were one and the same writing, one drawn or incised on the monuments, the other in use in daily life and for common purposes.

99. The appearance repeatedly of the name of *Naga* in connection with the current and common writing remains to be explained.[2] It is quite clear that the intended meaning was not a special use and acceptation of the word *naga*, but the proper meaning of this word, viz. "serpent," which, however, could not be separated from its usual surroundings of superstition and demon-character. Its translation by the Tibetan *klui*, instead of its transcription as in the case of *vartula*, shows it plainly. It seems to me that *this qualification was given to that current writing because of the curved and snake-like forms of its characters* in opposition to the stiffness of the monumental or to the ornamented forms of the sacred style of writing.

100. The *yi-ge zur-djan* writing, properly the half-cursive, was developed into the more current *dbu-med* or head-less characters, also called *t'a yig* in the western provinces. Of the *dbu-med*, commonly pronounced *Ume*, there are various kinds: the *dpé-yig* (from *dpe*=pattern, model), the more distinct and careful, used in copying books; the *'k'yug-yig*, lit. the running writing, the cursive and often rather illegible style used in writing letters; and the *'bam-yig*, the

[1] Vid. above, § 90*n*. As to the date of the *Lalita Vistara* it is not known. It was first translated into Chinese during the Shuh Han dynasty, A.D. 221-263 (cf. Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, *n*. 159). The date of A.D. 76 first given by Stanislas Julien was the result of a mistake.

[2] No satisfactory explanation has hitherto been given of the name *Nagari*, though four hypotheses were put forward. Cf. A. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palæography*, 2nd edit. p. 52*n*.

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very large and regular style invented for the use of elementary writing schools.[1]

The monumental writing of Tibet was that from which was derived, for the special use of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, the short-lived writing known as Bagspa, from the name of the Lama who worked it out, as we shall see in a further section of the present book.[2]

[1] On all these names, *vid.* Jaeschke, *Tibet. Engl. Dict.* pp. 60, 327, 392, 508. For specimens of the writings see the plates in Csoma de Körösi's *Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, Calcutta, 1834, 4to.

[2] Cf. below, § 109.

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PART II.

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V. Short-lived Writings in Central Asia.

a) *The K'itan Writing.*

101. In 910 A.D., on a rock near the Lan river, and in 915, on a stela south of Tsingtsung, Apaoki, first Emperor of the K'itans, had memorials of his victories engraved [1] in a sort of writing on which we have no information. The only thing we may safely infer is, that the writing was foreign to them, since they wanted, later on, to have one of their own, and until that time used notched sticks for their contracts and agreements.

In 920 Apaoki employed several Chinese scribes in framing, on the pattern of the Chinese *Kiai* and *Li* writings,[2] several thousands of characters for the K'itan language. The latter were called *Ta tze* or Great K'itan characters.[3] Five characters of the *Ta tze*, preserved in a Chinese work, have been published by Mr. A. Wylie. In 924 a stone tablet was engraved in K'itan, Uigur and Chinese characters.[4]

102. Among the K'itans, badges were worn in the shape

[1] H. H. Howorth, *The Northern Frontagers of China*, Part V. *The Khitai or Khitans*, pp. 32, 43.

[2] *Liao she*, K. 2, f. 2, Pen ki; G. Deveria, *Examen de la stèle de Yen-t'aï*, p. 178. (*Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1882, vol. i.)

[3] *Shu she hui yao*; A. Wylie, *Ancient Buddhist Inscriptions at Keu-yung Kwan*, *J.R.A.S.* 1871. Vol. V. Mr. G. Deveria, *Examen de la stèle de Yen-t'aï*, has also reproduced them. Vid. his plate Nos. 57-61.

[4] Cf. Ma Tuanlin, *Wen hien t'ung K'ao*, bk. 345. *Svh wen hien t'ung K'ao*, bk. 184, f. 31. A. Wylie, Introd. to his *Translation of the Ts'ing wan k'e mung* (Shanghai, 1855, 8vo.), p. xviii.

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of a fish.[1] The King's relatives as far as the fourth degree wore a Jade fish, which in the latter case was made only in gold, while the relatives of a more distant rank were only entitled to a silver one.[2] Dr. Bushell, of Peking, has in his possession a small fish, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inch in length, $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in width, one side convex, ornamented with scales inlaid with silver, the other flat, with an engraved inscription. He has kindly sent me a rubbing of the latter.[3] The characters, which he calls Jutchih, are similar to the inscription of Lang-Kiun, dated 1134 A.D., and published by Mr. A. Wylie.

This identification affords a clue to the somewhat intricate problem about the origin of subsequent writings, said to be derived from that of the K'itan, but which did not bear any resemblance to the five characters *Ta-tze*. The characters of the fish badge must have been those of the small K'itan characters, which were severally spoken of afterwards, but whose date of invention or making has not been kept on record.[4]

b) *The Tangut Writing.*

103. From 982 to 1227 A.D., betwixt China and Tibet on their northern borders, stood a powerful kingdom which was swept away by the Mongols, and has left hardly any trace of its existence.[5] The Si-Hia or Tangut, such was its name, did possess a writing which was only an adaptation of the

[1] A somewhat similar custom existed among the Peh-haï, which were bordering the K'itans on the north-east. Vid. *Ethnographie de Matouanlin*, trad. d'Hervey de St. Denys, vol. ii. pp. 366–367.

[2] *Kin She*, quoted in *Khang-hi Tze-tien*, pu 195. Wells Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary*, p. 1119: "*Pei kin yü*, a prince royal among the Khitans, because he wore a fish made of gold."

[3] MS. note, 27 May, 1881.

[4] During the Kin dynasty scholars were famous for their knowledge of the K'itan characters *large* and *small*; and these small characters, with the required alteration, were in use among the Jutchih or Kin as an intermediary transcriptive translation from the Chinese previous to the transcription into the great Jutchih character, for instance, in 1164 A.D. (cf. G. Deveria, *Examen de la Stèle de Yen-t'aï*, l.c. p. 179). They remained the sole writing after 1191 A.D.

[5] It is not at all unlikely that the *Meniaks* (Mi-nyag) of N.E. Tibet are the descendants of this ancient people. The Tangut or Si-Hia country was also called *Kashi*, which the Chinese rendered by Ho-si, and which has survived in the modern name *Khatche* in N. Tibet.

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small K'itan characters to the requirements of the language.[1]

In 1030 the king Tchao Te-ming, or more probably in 1037, his successor Tchao Yuen-hao, otherwise Weili, who had married a K'itan princess, is reputed to have invented the Si-Hia characters,[2] of which several specimens remain on coins and inscriptions. The Chinese sources describe them as made of numerous strokes, somewhat like the cabalistic symbols of the Taoists, angular like the *Pah-fen*, and the ends often curved as in the Seal character.

104. The numismatic evidence shows that from 1049 to 1120 A.D., when their names or period of years or Nien-hao were mostly of several words, while, as in the Chinese names, the others are generally made of two words only, the HIA Kings did not issue currency with Chinese legends, as they did before and after the above dates. During these seventy-one years, comprising eleven *nien-hao*, they issued money with legends in their own character. Though specimens of this mintage are known in numismatic collections since 1149 A.D.,[3] we do not know if they have or not issued a new type at each change of the periods named. Three only are known hitherto, and they remain still undeciphered. The symbols belong without doubt to the same style as those of the hexaglotte inscriptions of Kiu-yung Kuan, which hitherto were supposed to be Jutchih. On the other hand, Chinese numismatists are most positive in their statement that these coins were issued by the Hia emperors, and they give the following information.[4]

[1] Besides the numismatic evidence given below, as to the intimate connection of these writings, may be quoted the fact that a rubbing of an inscription from Shensi, in the possession of Dr. Bushell of Peking, is marked as written in Si-Hia characters; and the characters of this inscription are similar to those of Kiu-yung Kwan. Cf. G. Deveria, *ibid.* p. 185, and § 109 below.

[2] *Si Hia shu she*, K. 12, f. 9; *Sung she*, K. 485, f. 12; *Shu she hui yao*, K. 8, f. 11; *Liao she*, K. 115, f. 4; G. Deveria, *l.c.* p. 185.

[3] Hung Tsung in his *Tsiuen tchi*, published in 1149 A.D., gave a woodcut of one of these coins, but he did not know its origin. In the Tamba collection I have found two specimens now in the British Museum. Dr. Bushell, of Peking, has also two specimens in his collection. Li Tso-hien, a learned Chinese numismatist, has published in 1864 two rubbings of such coins in his *Ku Tsiuen hui*, Li, K. xv. f. 8.

[4] *Ki kin so kien luh*, *Ku tsiuen hui*, loc. cit.

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105. Once several urns containing old money were unearthed[1] at Liang-tchou,[2] in Kansuh. These pieces of money belonged to the T'ang, Sung, Liao or K'itan dynasties, and to the Western Hia or Tangut, all in Chinese character, besides these pieces with legends in an unknown writing. Now, in the temple of Ta-yun at Liang-tchou was an old stela with an inscription in the same writing on the obverse, while the reverse was inscribed in Chinese Kiai shu and dated the fifth year of *Tien-yu min 'an*.[3] This is one of the *nien-hao* of Si-Hia, during which no money with Chinese legends is known to have been issued by them. And the Chinese numismatists do not admit any doubt as to this identification of these specimens of currency. On the other hand, some considerations might be put forward to strengthen it. One of them is that they could hardly belong to another people. The characters of the legends have no resemblance to those of the Jutchihs, and cannot be disintegrated into two parts with the same facility as the latter, all known mintage of which bears legends in the Chinese character.[4] As to the K'itans, whose Great character was invented some 117 years before the Hia writing, they have never used it on their mintage. Ruling over the northern boundaries of China and struggling to extend their sway southwards, they used the Chinese symbols in view of having their currency accepted beyond their dominion.[5] With the Hia, who were settled on the outskirts in the northwest, the necessity was not so close, and, as we have seen, they tried for seventy-one years to follow their own way, but the requirements of trade were after all the stronger, and they were compelled to give up and return to their former use of Chinese characters on their money.

106. In his narrative W. de Rubruquis speaks of two

[1] The date of the find is not given.
[2] Lat. 37° 59', long. 102° 48'.
[3] *i.e.* 1095 A.D.
[4] It is, however, ominous that the oldest specimen known with certainty of their currency bears the *Nien hao* of Tchang-lung, *i.e.* 1156–1160 A.D., and that no specimens are known of their previous eight periods of years. Pieces of a currency bearing the legends *Ta kin tung pao*, *Kin she tung pao*, and *She kao tung pao*, in Chinese characters, perhaps belong to that period of their mintage.
[5] They began to cast money as early as their first nien-hao, viz. *Shen ts'eh*, 916–921 A.D.

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writings. He says:[1]—"The Thibet people write as we do,[2] and their letters bear a strong resemblance to ours. The Tangut people write from right to left like the Arabs, and their lines advance upwards. The first statement agrees with the well-known Tibetan writing derived from India,[3] and written as usual for the writings of this provenance from left to right. The second, concerning that of Tangut, is more difficult to understand. The empire of Tangut, otherwise called *Si-Hia*, disappeared in 1227, and nothing was left of its former power and civilization, as everything was swept away by its mighty conqueror Genghis Khan. Twenty-six years had passed away since this complete destruction when the Minorite Friar made his celebrated journey.[4] Therefore he cannot have spoken of the complicated writing of the Si-Hia, the more so that it was written like the Chinese from top to bottom, and in columns from right to left. His description does not apply better to the writing of the Uigur, which also was called the Tangut character. Rubruquis had himself in another passage described this writing,[5] borrowed "by the Tartares from the Iugures," written from top to bottom, in columns, arranged from left to right.[6] This description is quite precise, and it is not unlikely that such a disposition was in use in the west[7] previous to the spread eastwards of

[1] This passage was pointed out to me by Colonel Yule.

[2] *i.e.* from left to right.

[3] See above, §§ 83–100.

[4] Major G. H. Raverty, *On the Turks, Tartars, and Mughals*, p. 119, from Muhammadan sources, in *Congrès des Orientalistes*, St. Petersburg, 1876, vol. ii. speaks of a compact which was drawn up between Kabal the great-grandfather of Genghis Khan, and his brother Ká-júlé, by order of their father Túmná-i, in order to ensure the sovereignty to Kabal and his descendants. "A compact to this effect was drawn up in the 'I-ghúrí language—which is said to be the same as was used in Tibbat, and called Túngút characters, according to some writers—signed by them both, and deposited in the treasury."

[5] Composed of fourteen consonants and three vowels. Cf. Ahmed ben Arabshah, who wrote about 1440 A.D., and who was made known first by Le Roux des Hauterayes (*Encyclopedie Petity*, 1767, t. iii. p. 551). See, also, Abel Remusat, *Recherches sur les langues tartares*, p. 29 sq.

[6] Harris's *Collection of Voyages*, London, 1744, vol. i. Same statement made by the Monk Bacon. Vid. J. Klaproth, *Verzeichniss der Chinesischen und mandshuischen Bücher der k. Bibliotek zu Berlin*, Paris, 1822, fol. H. Vambery, *Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik*, Innsbruck, 1870. The Kaoudat-Koubilik had been previously described only by Amedée Jaubert, *Notice d'un manuscrit turk en caractères oüighoûrs*, Paris, 1825; *Journal Asiatique*, vol. vi. pp. 39, 78; and by A. L. Davids, *Grammaire Turke*, pp. xxxii–xxxvii.

[7] Cf. Dr. Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, vol. i. p. 305, who has collected the

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the Semitic alphabet cognate with the Syriac, Estranghelo, Mandaïte, which became the prototype of the Uigur, Mongol, and Kalmuk writings.

107. We must leave the writing of Tangut described by Rubruquis without identification, however precise his statements appear to be. As no other writing of Tangut existed besides the complicated symbols of Chinese descent, and the Uigur character, the problem will not be easily solved. We may venture to suppose that the explanation might be found in the simple fact that the Tangutan scribes writing in Uigur character, were accustomed to the Chinese writing, and perhaps wrote the two characters sometimes in parallel columns. When tracing the Uigur character from right to left, though read from top to bottom, they were compelled, in order, to match with the Chinese text, to put the latter top-lines on the right-hand side. The result of this process was to place the following Chinese lines, and consequently the parallel required lines in Uigur character *upwards*, as described by Rubruquis.

c) *The Jutchih Writing.*

108. The *Kin* or *Jutchih*,[1] ancestors of the present Mandshu dynasty of China, established their sway and ruled from 1115 to 1234 A.D. over the northern part of China proper. Several sorts of characters were used by them,[2] but two only were specially adapted to the requirements of their language.

reasons which favour this probability, against the suggestion of Abel Remusat, who had attributed the vertical writing to an imitation of the Chinese practice.

[1] On this name cf. § 86, n. 5 above. Prof. C. de Harlez has made a translation of their history, *Aisin gurun-i suduri bithe*, from the Mandshu. Some extracts have appeared in the *Muséon*, 1886, vol. v. pp. 379–390, 636–651.

[2] On these writings cf. A. Wylie, *Translation of the Ts'ing wan k'e mung*, a Chinese Grammar of the Manchu Tartar Language, with Introductory Notes on Manchu Literature (Shanghai, 1855, 8vo.), p. xix. *On an Ancient Inscription in the Neuchih Language* (*Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1860, vol. xvii. pp. 331–345). L. de Rosny, *Les Niutchih, leur langue et leur écriture* (Archives paleographiques, 1872, 8vo.), pp. 179–189. A. Wylie, *On an Ancient Buddhist Inscription at Keu-yung Kwan*, in North China (Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. 1871, vol. v. pp. 14–44, and plates). G. Deveria, *Examen de la Stèle de Yen-t'aï*, dissertation sur les caractères d'écriture employés par les Tartares Jou-tchen (*Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1882, vol. i.), pp. 173–183. Previous to their adoption of any written character, they used symbolical means of communication. Cf. above, § 27.

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At first, when they came into contact with the K'itan and the Chinese, they made use of their respective writings. But in 1129 A.D. Tai-tsu Aguda commissioned Wan-yen Hiyn, styled Kuh-shen, to make characters on the same principle as those of the K'itans, but suitable for expressing the sounds of the Jutchih language, and bearing a resemblance to the Chinese Pattern hand or *Kiai shu*. This order was complied with, and in 1120 and 1126 A.D. the characters were put in circulation, they being termed *Ta-tze* 'great characters,' otherwise Uncials. These characters were based upon those (also *Ta-tze*) of the K'itans, and were for that reason occasionally called K'itan characters among the Jutchih, who kept them in use until 1191 for official purposes. The inscription of Yen-t'aï (Kai fung fu, Honan), which has been published by Mr. G. Deveria, is most probably a specimen of these characters.

109. In 1138 A.D. the Kin[1] Emperor Hi-tsung framed himself, in imitation of the small characters of the K'itan, a set of characters which accordingly were called small characters, and were first brought into use in 1145. This writing is that which is used on the Liang Kiun inscription of 1134 A.D., and on that of the Kiu-yung gate of 1345, both published by Mr. A. Wylie.[2]

The official teaching of these latter characters was only abolished in 1658 at Peking.[3]

[1] *Kin* 'gold,' is the Chinese translation of the native name of this people calling themselves *Ai-sin*, while *Jutchih*, etc., was the name of their original country. It is interesting to point out that the Lang-Kiun inscription begins in Chinese by *Ta kin* 'great Kin,' and in the Jutchih text by two characters apparently derived from the Chinese 乂 山 *Ai-shan*.

[2] In the *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* for 1860 and 1871, as indicated above. M. G. Deveria, in his paper on the stèle of Yen-t'aï, above quoted, has collected a great deal of information on these matters.

[3] In the Annals of the Ming is recorded the establishment of the *See-y Kuan* or 'translatorial office,' in connection with the national collegiate institute in 1407 A.D. The object of this office was to facilitate the transaction of diplomatic correspondence with foreign nations, and the incumbents were charged with the study of eight different foreign languages. One of these was the Jutchih, with seven interpreters, increased to eight in 1483, and nine afterwards. The other languages were the Mongolian, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Bokharan, Uigur, Birman, and Siamese. In 1470 a fixed number of interpreters were appointed for each of the nations above named. On the accession of the present Mandshu dynasty in 1644, they re-established this translatorial office the same year, adding two sections in addition to the eight previously existing. These were the Peh-y and Pa-peh,

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d) *The Bagspa Writing.*

110. The history of this alphabet framed for the use of the Mongols on special order of Khubilaï Khan by the Tibetan lama Bagspa in 1269 A.D., and derived from the Tibetan characters, has been written several times,[1] so that we need not enter into the details of the fact. We know that it was in use for about eighty-five years, though not in general practice. The only disclosure made about this writing by more recent research is the occasional use which was made of it on his coins during the years 696 to 703 of the Hijreh (1295–1304 A.D.) by the Ilkhan Gházán Mahmud of Persia.[2] Regulations were enacted by the Mongols of China proscribing the use of this writing in A.D. 1269, 1272, 1275, 1282, 1284, 1307, etc., but without great avail, as they could not eradicate the habit of using the Uigur-Mongol characters, which eventually recovered their former general use.[3]

The Bagspa characters were 41 in number, namely, 22

two nations on the south-west of China (as we shall see below, § 175). A president was appointed, and fifty-six professors; and the following year another section was added, consisting of thirty interpreters for the tributary nations. In 1659 the section devoted to the Jutchih language was suppressed, as also that for the Mongol. A. Wylie, *On an Ancient Inscription in the Neu-chih Language*, l.c. pp. 335–336. A. Remusat, *Recherches sur les langues Tartares*, pp. 218–220. G. Deveria, *Examen de la stèle de Yen-t'aï*, pp. 180–181. The latter scholar has in preparation an extensive history of this 'College des Interprètes.'

[1] The most important notices are the following: A. Wylie, *Ts'ing wan k'e mung*, introd. pp. xxiv–xxv; *On an Ancient Inscription in Chinese and Mongol, from a stone tablet at Shanghaï*, in *Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, part v. 1855, Hongkong, 8vo. pp. 65–81; *Sur une inscription Mongole en caractères Pa-sse-pa*, in *Journal Asiatique*, Juin, 1862, pp. 461–471; *On an Ancient Buddhist Inscription at Keu-yung Kwan, in North China* (in J.R.A.S. 1871, vol. v. pp. 14–44), pp. 25–31. G. Pauthier, *Rapport sur deux medailles en cuivre jaune trouvées à Sourabaya (île de Java)* in *Journal Asiatique*, Avril–Mai, 1860, pp. 321–338; *De l'alphabet de Pá-sse-pa et de la tentative par Khubilaï Khan au XIIIe siècle de notre ère pour transcrire la langue figurative des Chinois au moyen d'une écriture alphabétique*, ibid. Janvier, 1862, pp. 5–47. J. Edkins, *An Account of Sanskrit and Mongolian Characters found in Chinese Books*, in *Transactions of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Hong-Kong, 1855, pp. 101–108. V. Grigorieff, *Lettre adressée à la Société Asiatique de Paris sur l'origine et les monuments de l'écriture carrée dont l'invention est attribuée au Pagpa Lama*, in *Journal Asiatique*, Juin, 1861, pp. 522–558. Conon von der Gabelentz, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. ii. p. 1.

[2] Cf. my note *On a Bagspa Legend on Coins of Ghazan Mahmud*, in Stanley Lane Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols in the British Museum* (London, 1881, 8vo.), pp. l–lii.

[3] Cf. below, § 126.

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consonants, 10 vowels, 8 final syllables, and one initial sign, and the total of their combinations was a thousand.[1]

VI. Deflected Writings.

111. The deflected writings are those which cannot be traced back to their origin without, either in their derivation, or in the course of their evolution, having undergone a change of direction either from right to left instead of from left to right, or horizontally instead of vertically, and so forth.

But the deflection takes place on the whole number of the characters, alphabetic or syllabic, and not [2] on a few of them only, with a single deflection in case of immediate derivation, and if these are different deflections well established, they indicate that the derivation is remote, and through several intermediary stages, which require to be authenticated before any safe conclusion may be obtained. The latter cases, which, in the study of the genealogy of phonetic writings must not be accepted without most cogent reasons, and as isolate exceptions, have not the same importance as pictorial writings, where the design of certain symbols, or their size, may have exercised an influence on their later position.

a) *The Babylonian Writing and its Derivates.*

112. The oldest instances of deflected writing are those (still, however, uncleared) which have occurred in the evolution of the Babylonian writing. Pictorial in its

[1] Cf. Abel Remusat, *Recherches sur les langues tartares*, p. 345.

[2] The neglect of this unwritten principle of comparative palæography has led to many unsuccessful attempts at connecting writing of different origin. For instances of late years: J. Halévy, *Résumé d'un Mémoire sur l'origine des écritures indiennes*, in C. R. Acad. Inscript. B.-L., 1884, vol. xii. pp. 214–223 (cf. below, §§ 151 sq. of the present work). Park Harrison, *Phœnician Characters from Sumatra*, 1874, *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* vol. iv. pp. 387–8. *Rejang Manuscripts on Bamboo*, 4to. with plates; *Characters Tattooed on a Motu Woman* (London, 8vo.). Dr. Hyde Clarke, *Lolo and Vei Characters*, in *The Athenæum*, 16 Sept., 1882, and my rejoinder, *ibid.* 23 Sept., when I recounted the well-known circumstances of the recent invention of the Vei characters about 1834 A.D., and the improbability of their connection with the ancient Lolo characters (§§ 38, 1). The only remark which can be added here is that, judging from the similarity of a few characters, the inventors of the Vei syllabary had most likely seen, but not learned, the Abyssinian writing.

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beginnings, and derived most probably from the same source as the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and not from them, it was carried to Babylonia perhaps by the Kushites.[1] Anyhow, it is to that early period that belong the coincidences which are detected between some Babylonian, Egyptian,[2] and Hittite symbols. The characters were then arranged, apparently according to shape and figure, as with the Egyptian and Hittite, and, probably likewise, in boustrophedon. No relics have been preserved of this early phase, which, however, may be restored hypothetically by palæographical necessity.

113. The next step in the evolution of the Babylonian writing seems to have been the abandonment of the boustrophedon system and the adoption of a serious modification of the symbols. The shape of the characters, in cases of isolated or compound symbols easy to disintegrate, was

[1] I shall examine this question at length in the third part of the present work. I have advocated the existence of the writing in Babylonia previous to the settlement of the Akkado-Sumerians, and given my reasons for it as early as 1883 (cf. my paper on *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, § 111 and notes, in Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. 1883, vol. xv. pp. 278–279, and my note on *The Pre-Akkadian Writing* in *The Academy*, 758, Nov. 13, 1886, p. 331). It has been argued (by Mr. G. Bertin, *ibid.* 757, 6 Nov., p. 313) that Hincks and Norris had already pointed out that the Babylonian hieroglyphics were derived from those of Egypt, and therefore that my above-mentioned discovery had been made previously, since this derivation would imply the pre-existence of the Babylonian writing to the Akkado-Sumerian period. But this suggestion of Hincks, adopted by Norris, was a mere shot in the air, and was not, more in their time than in ours, borne out by facts; the decipherment of the Babylonian characters, and the recovery of their ancient forms, were still unripe, and did not permit these great scholars to adduce any serious fact in support of their view, except the coincidence of two or three characters Babylonian and Egyptian, a coincidence which receives another explanation. Anyhow this view of Hincks and Norris was so little accepted, and was so far from being public property, that Mr. Bertin himself, in his paper on *The Pre-Akkadian Semites*, had not made any allusion to it. Therefore I remain the first who may claim to have given palæographical reasons for the existence of the Babylonian writing previously to the Akkado-Sumerians, who were generally attributed the inventors of this writing (cf. *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1886, Vol. XVIII. p. 548).

[2] I have begun to draw up a list of these coincidences, and my friend Professor F. Hommel has also begun the same work independently. Professor Hommel thinks that the Egyptian hieroglyphics were derived from those of Babylon, while I think that both, as well as the Hittite hieroglyphics, are derived from one common stem, of which the symbols preserved on the land-mark stones of Babylonia and Susiana were perhaps an early derivation (cf. above, § 5, n. 5 and § 7). A derivation of the Babylonian symbols from the Egyptian is altogether out of the question. The figures of Babylonian pictographs, known from an ancient tablet from Nimroud, which has been published several times (notably by W. Houghton, *On the Hieroglyphic or Picture Origin of the Characters of the Assyrian Syllabary*, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 1879, p. 455), are much more rude than the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

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rectified in order to have them facing to the readêr (a feature common to this writing and to its derivate the Chinese [1]) in contradiction to the profile feature of the Egyptian and Hittite hieroglyphics. The direction selected was from left to right, most likely because it was previously more often used, as was the case in Egyptian.[2]

Then the characters were strictly disposed in perpendicular lines, a disposition which may have been introduced by the Akkado-Sumerians in analogy to the knotted cords and notched sticks which, in common with the other Scythian populations, they probably made use of previously as means of communication; and these perpendicular lines were arranged from right to left.[3] The system has been long preserved on the seals, as may be seen in any of the publications which have been made of them.[4]

114. It is from this period of the writing that dates the eastward expansion which permitted the leaders of the Bak tribes, between the Hindu-Kush and the Caspian Sea, to be acquainted with it by practical intercourse, in same time as with the other elements of civilization which they carried in their migration to the N.W. borders of China.[5] The oldest writing of the Flowery land, of which some relics have been religiously preserved in this country of servile traditions, was derived from it; and as the wedge-strokes, though not unknown in the early traditions of the Chinese, were not kept by them because of their writing on vegetable materials,

[1] The latter has occasionally preserved in the forms of its oldest period the three shapes of some symbols, left, right, and face.

[2] Cf. what I have said about this matter in *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1883, vol. xv. p. 279 n. Many shapes and dispositions of these characters, concealed by the wedge-strokes, are explained away by their derivates in early Chinese, where the wedge is not adhered to. The ancient direction from left to right is shown by the early compounds.

[3] I was mistaken in attributing this change to the Chinese themselves, while they have servilely copied their masters, as said in my communication on *Babylonia and China*, in *The Academy*, 7 Aug., 1886. Cf. also my note on *The Affinity of the Ten Stems of the Chinese Cycle of Ten with the Akkadian Numerals* (ibid. 1 Sept., 1883).

[4] Cf. Theo. G. Pinches, *The Babylonian and Assyrian Cylinder-Seals of the British Museum*, London, 1885, 8vo. And the great work of M. Joachim Menant, *La Glyptique Orientale*, vol. i. Paris, 1884, 8vo.

[5] Cf. above, § 49 and notes; also the comparison of ancient Babylonian and Chinese characters, plate iv. of the present work.

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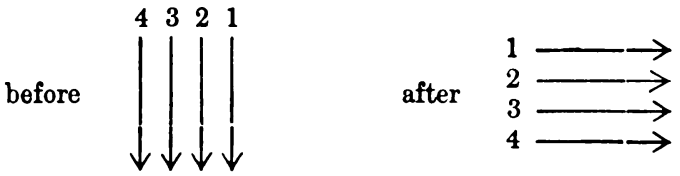
these early characters contain some precious information when compared with the Babylonian unclear wedged symbols.[1]

115. The next phase in the evolution of the Babylonian writing was the arrangement of the characters in horizontal lines, and their reading from left to right. This twofold result was obtained by a single turning of the former perpendicular lines to the left, as shown by the following diagram:



Then the spread of this writing gave birth to varieties in Nineveh and Susiana; and afterwards the Assyro-Babylonian, Vannic, Medo-Scythic, and Persian Achæmenid syllabaries evolved from it, all of them keeping, besides their purely phonetic symbols, the use of a few ideographs as survivals of the former stage of their mother-writing.

b) *Various Writings of the West.*

116. The nearest and best-known instance is that of our Latin writing and alphabet, from left to right, derived from the Phœnician characters, which were written from right to left.[2]

117. The characters of the Lybian inscriptions and the Tamashek or Tifinag alphabet, are most probably, in my opinion, derived remotely from the Hymaritic or Musnad characters through some intermediary like the Safa writing, as they exhibit an irregular and apparent succession of deflections.

[1] Cf. my *Early History of the Chinese Civilization*, with plate of early Chinese and Babylonian characters (London, 1880, 8vo.), and above, §§ 46–50.

[2] This elementary fact has suggested a most ingenious and demonstrative device to the author of a little work on writing, where a transcription made by him of the Lord's Prayer in Phœnician characters on transparent paper can be read, the same paper turned over, as if in our writing, with a little practice. Cf. J. Van Drival, *De l'origine de l'écriture* (Paris, 1879, 8vo.), p. 20.

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c) *The Syriac Writing and its Eastern Derivatives.*

118. The Syriac writing has played a great part in Central Asia, but it has not kept, in its descendants, its original arrangement, from right to left in horizontal lines from top to bottom.

It was first carried eastwards in 435 A.D., when Barsumus, a doctor of Edessa, who was a zealous partisan of Nestorius, having been ejected from his chair, took refuge in Persia, and became Bishop of Nisibis, where he founded a school of theology in rivalry to that of Edessa.[1] From the school of Nisibis proceeded those bands of missionaries who, during the following centuries, spread with or without the Nestorian tenets the knowledge of this writing.[2]

119. It is not one of the less curious features in the eventful history of the Syriac characters that, driven away from their original country by "theological disputes which turned on the most subtle metaphysical distinctions," they became the Uigur writing employed in translations of the Buddhist books, and also of the sacred literature of China. It is an extremely curious fact, pointed out for the first time by Mr. A. Wylie,[3] that the greater part of the Buddhist books must have been translated into Uigur. In the Chinese history of celebrated Buddhists, published under the Sung dynasty in 988, it is recorded that "when the Sutras and Vinayas from India were taken to Kutche, on the north of the Tsung-ling mountain, to Lenlan, to Kharashar, to Khoten, and to Khashgar, the natives not understanding the language of India, the books were translated for them into the barbarian languages which they spoke."[4] This implies countries speaking Uigur and using the Uigur character, which is an adaptation of the Syriac.

[1] Cf. Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet, an Account of the Origin and Development of Letters* (London, 1883), vol. i. p. 291.

[2] Wei Tsih, a Chinese author of the ninth century, enumerating 56 different kinds of writing that have been used in China, mentions as the 54th the *Wai Kwoh Hu shu*, 'the writing of foreign nations,' which he says was introduced by the prince *A-mà-kwei-me*. Cf. *Suh wen hien t'ung k'ao*, bk. 134, f. 25. A. Wylie, *Ts'ing wan k'e mung*, p. xx.

[3] *Ancient Buddhist Inscription at Keu-yung Kwan*, l.c. p. 32.

[4] Cf. Stan. Julien, *Mélanges de Géographie Asiatique*, pp. 223–224.

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120. The exact date of the adoption of the Syriac characters by the Uigurs is not recorded, to my knowledge; but in the middle of the fifth century, consequently after the advance of this writing eastwards, we find the Uigur, as reported by Chinese authorities, in possession of a writing of their own, and translations from the Chinese of Mao's *Shi King* or 'Book of Odes,' Confucius's *Lun-yu* or 'Analects,' the *Hiao King* or 'Book of Filial Piety,' besides some poets and historians.[1] The *Kiu-sze* in 478 A.D., the *Wei* of northern China circ. 480, and the *Tuh-kiueh hun* in 518, were in possession of a writing which we can almost with certainty say to have been the, or derived from the, Syriac-Uigur characters.[2] The *Wei* of northern China were staunch Buddhists from the beginning, and one of the Emperors of their dynasty, Hiao Wu, had a collection made of Buddhist books in A.D. 532,[3] in Chinese, after they had relinquished their former language and writing.[4]

121. We do not know how long after their establishment at Nisibis, the Nestorians went to Balk (Bactra), but it is from the latter seat that a Raban[5] and his companions went to China in A.D. 635,[6] where they set up at Si-ngan the celebrated inscription which was accidentally dug out in 1625, and is the most important monument of ancient

[1] Remusat, *Recherches sur les langues Tartares*. p. 284. A. Wylie, *O.C.* p. 31.

[2] Cf. below, §§ 162–164. The unknown writing, which the Uigurs were supposed to have possessed previously to that derived from the Syriac, is a myth; the hypothesis arose from not knowing of the early advance of the Nestorian eastwards.

[3] Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka* (Oxford, 1883, 4to.), p. xvii.

[4] Probably when they removed their capital city from Tchung-shan (Tchihli) to Lo-yang (Honan), A.D. 493.

[5] *Raban* is rendered into the Chinese clumsy orthoepy by 'Olopen.

[6] It has been wrongly stated that Nestorians had reached China as early as A.D. 505. Ebedjesus Sobiensis remarks that "the Catholicos Salibazacha created the metropolitan sects of Sina and Samarcand, though some say they were constituted by Achans and Silas." Silas was Patriarch of the Nestorians from A.D. 505 to 520; and Achæus was Archbishop at Seleucia in 415. The Metropolitan Bishop of Sina is also mentioned in a list of those subject to this Patriarch, published by Anno, and it is placed in the list after that of India, according to the priority of foundation. (Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii. p. 276.) But this *Sina* near Samarcand was not China. It is a well-known region in Persian literature near Samarcand, afterwards Tchiniztan, and probably connected with Mount Tchino. Cf. my article on *The Sinim of Isaiah, not the Chinese*, in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, January, 1887.

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Christianity in Eastern Asia. In the Chinese Imperial decree[1] of 638 authorizing their establishment at Tchang-'an, they were denominated Persian priests *Po-sze seng*, but subsequently in 745 another decree[2] had this name altered into that of Ta-Ts'in, and accordingly on the aforesaid inscription, they called themselves from Ta-Ts'in, the Roman Orient.[3] The great persecution of A.D. 845 was against the Nestorians at the same time as against the Buddhists; and by Imperial decree the priests of Ta-Ts'in and those of Mohufut (Mohommed) were laïcised like the others. The wholesale destruction of temples and monasteries involved that of the Nestorians, so that the celebrated tablet of Si-ngan fu was buried in the ruins until its recovery by the Chinese themselves in the seventeenth century.[4] It stands now among

[1] Quoted in the inscription with the alteration of *Ta Ts'in* for *Po-sze*, which occurred in the original text as published in the *T'ang hwei-yao* of A.D. 961, bk. 49.

[2] Published in the *Tsih-fu-yuen-kuei*, a cyclopedia of A.D. 1013 in 1000 books.

[3] This carefully-studied conclusion of P. Gaubil, P. Visdelou, Deguignes junior, Abel de Remusat, G. Pauthier, and others, has been established again by Dr. F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, Shanghai, 1885.

[4] The number of papers and works written about it would make a library; cf. their titles in Henri Cordier's *Biblioteca Sinica*, vol. i. The most important papers are those of G. Pauthier, *De l'Authenticité de l'Inscription Nestorienne de Si-ngan fou* (Extr. of *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne* vols xv. xvi.), Paris, 1857; *L'inscription Syro-Chinoise de Si-ngan fou, monument Nestorien élevé en Chine l'an* 781 *de notre ère et découvert en* 1625 (Paris, 1858, 8vo.). Party spirit has several times blinded the mind of some writers on the matter, but the authenticity of the tablet is now beyond any possible doubt. The following notes, extracted from *The Times* in 1886, are the most recent contributions to the matter.

From *The Times*, 4 February, 1886: Sir,—I beg to say a few words about the Nestorian tablet at Si-ngan fu as a protest to the letter signed "G. W.," in *The Times* of yesterday, which I find to be untrue in facts and unfair in suggestions.

All the possible objections to the reliability of this inscription have been carefully sifted by several competent scholars, and the result of their careful researches is that "the weight of evidence, both internal and external, leaves no doubt regarding its verity." These are the very words used by the late Dr. Wells Williams in his work "The Middle Kingdom" (revised edition, London, 1883, vol. ii. p. 277), where he has reproduced in full the best translation ever made of the inscription, by Mr. A. Wylie, lately of the London Misson at Shanghai, "who has gone over the whole subject with a fulness and care which leaves little to be desired."

Dr. Wall had certainly not made himself acquainted with the conditions of the case when he wrote in the work quoted by your correspondent his objections to the genuineness of the tablet.

The doubts put forward have no foundation whatever, as I will try to show.

The inscription was mentioned in the eleventh century by Min K'ieu, author of a description of Ch'ang-ngan, name of a part of Si-ngan. Far from being lost, the original stone, after its recovery in 1625, was carefully preserved, and the

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the ruins brought out by the late Mahommedan rebellion of 1859, as a witness of an early advance of Christianity in the

great Imperial geography published at Pekin in 1744 states that it was kept in the Kin-shing monastery.

As to the objectionable references in the text, they have proved to be mistranslations of the early translator, P. Boym ("Briefve relation de la convention notable des personnes royales et de la religion Chrestienne en la Chine," Paris, 1654), whose inexact work was reproduced in P. Kircher's "China Illustrata." In order to see how far the translation of P. Boym was defective, it will be sufficient to compare it with that of Mr. A. Wylie, the best Chinese scholar who has ever lived. The style of the inscription is very terse, and the exact meaning not easily perceived even by learned natives. An exact translation required a scholar much more competent than P. Boym.

It is not astonishing that Dr. Wall should have reproduced the ancient objection, based upon the lack of archaism in the characters of the Chinese text. This was said when the history of the Chinese writing was not known, and ought not to be repeated now-a-days. The current writing of China (heng-shu), as every Sinologist knows, has hardly been modified since the latter part of the fifth century. A decisive proof that the writing of the Nestorian tablet has not been tampered with, and is genuinely that of the eighth century, is happily at hand for every one anxious to verify the point. A *facsimile* of this famous inscription, erected in 781 A.D., is reproduced from a rubbing in Colonel Yule's monumental work, "The Book of Ser Marco Polo," second edition, vol. ii. p. 22. On the other hand *facsimiles* from rubbings of a Chinese and Tibetan inscription set up at Lhasa in 822 A.D.—viz. 39 years only after the Chinese and Syriac tablet of Si-ngan Fu—are reproduced in Dr. S. W. Bushell's paper on "The Early History of Tibet," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, new series, vol. xii. 1880, p. 534. A comparison of the Chinese characters in the two inscriptions proves them exactly similar, at large and in their small variants with the writing of modern times.

The Nestorian tablet was discovered in 1625, when Tsen Tsing-chang, prefect of Si-ngan Fu, had a tomb made, south of the Tsung-jin monastery, for his son just deceased. And it was only three years afterwards, in 1628, that it was seen for the first time by the Jesuit Alvarez Semedo. The habit of making casts and rubbings of their antiquities and inscriptions, for the antiquaries and students, is very old in China. The process commends itself, since the accuracy of these reproductions is complete, as there is in it no possibility of any personal fancies or unknowing, nor of any alteration of characters or texts. The making of a copy of the Nestorian tablet after its discovery, to be shown away, was in accordance with the usual practice.

The imputation made seriously in your correspondent's letter, that the Chinese part of the inscripton was altered by some Jesuits in favour of their creed, cannot be read without protest and contempt. The facts are against its possibility. On the other hand, the learned and distinguished Jesuits who carried the standard of Christianity into China were men of high character and morality, utterly incapable of conceiving or helping any base action. We have only too often occasion of seeing how often the prejudices of a missionary mind hinder the scientific independence and criticism of men otherwise distinguished and learned. But there is an abyss between interpreting and explaining, with a partial mind, an inscription or text difficult to understand, and committing a forgery such as that which is gratuitously supposed. The earnestness and candour with which the Jesuit missionaries have laboured in China is patent to any one who has read their works.

I hope that the eloquent appeal of Mr. Frederic H. Balfour (*The Times*, January 21, 1886) will not remain unheard, and that steps will be taken by the Foreign Office to obtain the stone of Si-ngan Fu. It is a most precious monument, unique in its kind, which ought to take a place among the treasures of the British Museum.—T. DE L.

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Middle Kingdom. The Syriac characters are inscribed on it in perpendicular columns from left to right.

122. Some important finds of inscribed tombstones in the province of Semiretch, north of Khokand, the ancient region

From *The Times*, 1 September, 1886:—I have read with great pleasure your letter of January 30 in *The Times* upon the subject of the Nestorian tablet at Si-ngan Fu, in Shensi, and fully concur with you in the conviction that beyond doubt it is genuine. It has been my privilege to travel a great deal in North China. I have twice visited Si-ngan Fu, and have carefully examined the tablet in question. The stone itself is remarkable, unlike that of any other I could find in the neighbourhood, and must have been brought from some considerable distance. There need be no difficulty in obtaining possession of the stone. No value is set upon it by the natives or by the Government, and in a few years it will be again lost or broken up. It is standing a silent and solitary witness of God's truth, upon a heap of the ruins of temples of many generations, without a covering of any kind, exposed to every wind and storm that blows.—A. G. Parrott.

Si-ngan Fu, Shensi (China), June 14.— . . . . . Coming up the Han river some two months ago, I read your interesting letter in *The Times* Weekly Edition of February 5 on the Nestorian tablet.

My missionary duties bringing me to this historic part of China, I made my 'pilgrimage' to the Nestorian tablet the day before yesterday, before even entering the city. It is, as you know, situated outside the west gate, in the grounds of the great Tsung-jin Monastery. This monastery was burnt about twenty-three years ago, and only a few rooms remain of what must have been a magnificent series of buildings. My feelings of awe and delight, in the presence of this famous memorial to the labours of devoted men, were soon replaced with an indescribable feeling of horror and shame that this precious monument should be thus rudely and recklessly exposed to the elements and any stray 'rough' who cared to damage it. The old man in the only remaining building of the Tsung-jin Monastery told me it had been so exposed ever since the destruction of the monastery in 1863.

So far it is in a remarkably good condition, considering this exposure, though there are unmistakable marks of decay and ill-usage. I have procured a recent rubbing and take the liberty of asking your kind acceptance of it. It will show fairly the present condition of the tablet. The two side bits represent the thickness of the stone, and, of course, the engravings also. You have every character and letter in the rubbing. From a cursory examination I am inclined to think that it is not stone, but moulded of a very fine and peculiar kind of earth and well fired after the manner of the best Chinese bricks. I tried to cut it at the back with a knife, and found it soft, which rather confirmed this theory. It stands on a stone tortoise. It is, moreover, so isolated that any person might go and batter it to pieces without risk of the sound reaching any habitation.

That this world-famous tablet should be exposed as it is to either gradual or sudden destruction is a crying shame and a disgrace to the nineteenth century. I most heartily and sincerely hope with you that our rulers will see the wisdom and the urgent necessity for bringing their good offices to bear on the high authorities in Pekin, to induce them to let this ancient and unique monument pass from exposure in the open air to wind, rain, sun, frost, and vandalism into the safe keeping of the British Museum.

If this cannot be done, surely something might be done by the distinguished representatives of Western nations in Pekin, to induce the Chinese Government to put up a house to cover the tablet, and otherwise make adequate provision for its preservation.

It would be deplorable if this valuable memorial of Nestorian Christianity in China should, through sheer neglect and carelessness, be lost to future ages.—John W. Stevenson, China Inland Mission.

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of Ferganah,[1] which, studied by Dr. Chwolson[2] of St. Petersburg, have proved to be those of Christian Nestorians. The inscriptions in the Syro-Nestorian characters, written in perpendicular and also in horizontal lines, so as to make the four sides of a square around the flowered pattern of the Nestorian cross, are dated from the years 1169 to 1648 of the Seleucidian era, corresponding to A.D. 858 to 1237. These dates show a persistence of activity of this writing in these regions much later than was hitherto supposed.

123. This twofold arrangement of the Syriac characters in perpendicular lines from left to right, and in horizontal lines, was known of old by the Syriac scribes. As the grammarians inform us, they were accustomed to write from the top to the bottom of the page, the writing being turned round into the usual position in order to be read. This habit was not relinquished by them before the thirteenth century. The fact is stated, but the reason is not given by those[3] who have investigated the matter. It may have arisen from the

[1] The following, which I extract from a daily paper, refers to it (2 Sept. 1886): The *Vossische Zeitung* says: "At the beginning of this year a discovery was made at Semirjetsche, in the district of Fergana, west of the Chinese frontier at Kuldja and north-east of Kokand, which is of great interest to historians and Orientalists. It was near the ruins of a fortress called Burana, built of bricks, and situated on the spurs of the Alexander Mountain chain, that Dr. Porjakow found two old decayed graveyards with numerous gravestones, many of which bore a cross and others chiselled inscriptions. They could not be deciphered on the spot, both characters and language appearing to be quite unknown. The Catholic missionaries in Kuldja believed the characters to be Uigurian, while the Lama of the Kalmucks believed he recognized in one of the inscriptions the Buddhist form of prayer. *om ma hom*. It was determined to take several tombstones, fourteen photographs, and eight rather imperfect copies of the inscriptions, to St. Petersburg, where they were handed to the Councillor of State Chwolson, who soon declared the character to be Syriac-Nestorian. It was difficult to decipher, for, besides the age and decay of the stones and inscriptions, they contained new italics not usual in Old Syriac, and also quite foreign letters, probably taken from the Arabian alphabet, and, very unexpectedly, some Turkish words and proper names. This having been found out, the deciphering proceeded rapidly, and Professor Chwolson sent a report to the Royal Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. The inscriptions have primarily a palæographic interest, and are further remarkable on account of their peculiar grammatical forms and turns of speech."

[2] *Syrische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie*, by Dr. Chwolson (*Mémoires de l'Academie Imper. des Sciences* de St. Petersbourg, 1886, VIIe ser. tom. xxxiv., No. 4), 30 pp. and plate. Dr. Chwolson has read at the Seventh Oriental Congress at Vienna, 1 Oct., 1886, a paper *Ueber die Nordöstlich von Kokand (Fergana) gefundenen syrisch nestorianischen Grabschriften*, and exhibited several of these tombstones.

[3] As for instance Dr. Isaac Taylor, quoting Bayer, in his work *The Alphabet*, vol. i. p. 305.

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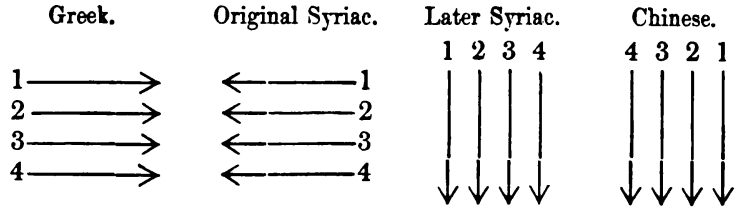
necessity of writing Greek and Syriac together. The first running from left to right, and the second from right to left, the only means of making their letters correspond, as for instance in the case of proper names, was to write the Syriac in columns; this process could not be objectionable to the habits of people reading from right to left, to the same extent as putting these letters contrariwise to their usual arrangement. An instance which occurs in a MS. of the sixth century, and now in the British Museum, and reproduced in Dr. I. Taylor's book on the Alphabet, would agree with this explanation. The disposition of the writing in columns from left to right, occasionally on the funeral inscriptions of Fergana, and regularly on the tablet of Si-ngan fu, shows that this habit was in current use, and could not have come from Chinese influence, as was formerly supposed.[1] The following diagrams explain the matter :



124. The Jacobite Christians[2] of Aleppo have preserved a survival of the ancient Syriac alphabet, but they have adopted some special signs in place of the primitive Syriac system of points. These signs are no less than superscribed Greek vowels which now appear to be laid aside, simply because at the time of their adoption the Syriac letters were written in perpendicular lines.[3]

[1] Dr. Taylor, in his above-quoted work (vol. i. p. 304), has shown the impossibility of this explanation of Remusat, which would have required the succession of the columns of writing from right to left as in Chinese, while it is the reverse with the Syriac writing.

[2] Their alphabet differs little from that of the Maronite of the Lebanon, and goes by the names of Modern Syriac, Peshito (*i.e.* current), or Serta (*i.e.* linear). The latter name was probably so called (as suggested by Hoffmann, says I. Taylor, *The Alphabet*, vol. i. 286) because of the characteristic horizontal line or ligature which unites the lower portions of the letters, and thus distinguishes it from the Estranghelo or "rounded characters." It must be remembered, however, that this ligature or straight line is found already on the Nestorian tablet of Si-ngan fu in A.D. 781, as well as on the tombstones of Semirjetche of A.D. 858.

[3] Cf. I. Taylor, *The Alphabet*, vol. i. pp. 295, 296, and 306.

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125. The Syriac alphabet, through its immediate derivate the Uigur, where the letters useless to the limited phonesis of the latter language, such as the distinctions between surds and sonants, have been neglected, has given birth to the Mongol, Mandchu, and Kalmuk writings. The history of their successive systematizations has been written several times, and we need not give here more than a short sketch.

126. About A.D. 1200,[1] the Mongols, under the leadership of Jingis Khan, after having defeated the Naïmans near the Yenissei river, were taught the Uigur writing by Tatatonggo, formerly Secretary of the Naïman prince, who was a Uigur by birth. The practice continued to prevail during the supremacy of Ogdai, Guyu, and Manggu, the three successors of Jingis Khan. Ruybruck, who went on an embassy to the Mongolian court, from France, in 1253, speaking of the Uigur character, says: "Mangu Khan has sent to your Majesty (Louis IX.) letters written in the Mongol or Tartar language, but in Uigur characters."[2] Under the succeeding monarch, Kublaï Khan, the inadequacy of the Uigur character fully to express the articulations and vocables of the Mongol language, were felt to be a source of embarrassment and difficulty.

127. A venerable Tibetan Lama Sadja Pandita, who had been invited,[3] in 1244, to come to the court, where he arrived in 1247, and remained until his death in 1251, is attributed by the Mongol Sagas, the invention of their first alphabet. They tell us that while he was pondering over the matter, he one night had a dream, in which he was told to fashion the letters after the first object he should see after he awoke. This happened to be a woman carrying a notched stick over her shoulder. He thereupon constructed an alphabet and

[1] Cf. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. i. p. 55.

[2] Cf. J. Klaproth, *Abhandlung über die Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren*, p. 56. A. Wylie, *Ancient Buddhist Inscriptions*, *l.c.* p. 33.

[3] By Donda, a brother of Kublaï Khan, sent on a mission to Tibet. Klaproth (*l.c.*) says that Sadja Pandita occupied the office of High Priest of Lamaism for seven years at the Mongolian Court, counting from 1244 to 1251, but he has forgotten that the Lama was three years on his journey.

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formed a set of perpendicular lineal characters[1] for the letters *a, e, i*; *na, ne, ni*; *ba, be, bi*; *kha, ke, ki*; *ga, ge, gi*; *ma, me, mi*; *la, le, li*; *ra, re, ri*; *sa, se, si*; *da, de, di*; *ta, te, ti*; *ya, ye, yi*; *tsa, tse, chi*; *dsa, dse, gi*; *wa, we*.[2] The system was very defective, though Sadja Pandita had preserved the fourteen consonants; but he died before having completed the work in which he was still engaged. None of the religious writings could be translated with that system,[3] and the ancient Uigur translations of the Buddhist books were still resorted to. It is this unsuccess which caused the formation of the Bagspa character which we have recorded.[4]

128. In 1304, Eldjaïtu, successor to Kublai, commissioned the priest Tsordji Osir, a relative of Sadja Pandita, to translate the Tibetan sacred books in the Mongolian language and the Bagspa characters. But the difficulties proved insuperable, and Tsordji Osir was compelled to revert to the unfinished work of Sadja Pandita. He made such additions to it as were needful for his purpose, and wrote out with it a Mongol translation of the Tibetan work *Bangcha Rakcha*, but found it necessary to express a great many words in the Tibetan characters. The two letters addressed to Philip the Fair of France, the first by Argun, the Mongol prince of Persia in 1289, and the second by Eldjaïtu, his successor in 1305, were written at these stages of the writing.

Under the direction of Kaisun Kulluk, the succeeding Emperor, who reigned from 1307 to 1311, Tsordji Osir made still further improvements in the writing. His various additions consisted of the vowels *o, u, ô* and *û*, the consonants *sha, sa, dsi*, and *pu* and the finals *n, p, k, l, m, r, t, i, u* and *ng*. He retained the Tibetan numeral figures unchanged. And at last a proper system for transcribing the Mongol sounds was definitively obtained.[5] The number of simple

[1] Cf. J. Klaproth, *Verzeichniss der chinesischen und mandshuischen Bücher der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Paris, 1882, fol.); *Archives Paleographiques*; *De l'écriture Ouigoure*, vol. i. p. 87 (Paris, 1872).

[2] Cf. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. i. p. 506.

[3] But it appears on the coins of Abaga of Persia in A.D. 1279.

[4] Cf. above §110.

[5] All these details are given not only in the Chinese history of the Yuen dynasty, and also in a Mongol work, *Brulba Saadja Bandida yin gargaksan Mongol usuk*, published in China in 1730.

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characters was 30, making 127 compounds arranged in 12 classes according to their terminations; they consist of 7 vowels, 6 diphthongs, and 17 consonants, each of them having final, medial, and initial forms.

129. The Mongol alphabet has produced two derivates, the Mandshu and the Kalmuck.

In 1599 A.D. Tai Tsu Dergi, the first Mandshu chieftain who assumed the dignity of Emperor, and the predecessor but one of Ichishsu dasan or Shitsu eltembughe, the founder of the present dynasty of China, commissioned Erdeni Bakshi, a scholar well skilled in the Mongolian literature, and Gagai Dsharguzi, the high minister, to invent a system of writing for the Mandshus. Both demurred from the difficulty of the task, objecting that the Mongol characters were too old to be altered, and that inventing new characters was not possible. The emperor overruled the first objection by remarking: "There is no difficulty; merely apply the Mongolian characters to the sounds of our language, and connect the syllables together to form words; thus the written characters will show the meaning." Soon after Gagai was beheaded for political offences, and Erdeni alone remained in charge of the work of forming the characters; when this task was accomplished, the emperor caused the alphabet constructed to be put into circulation, from which time the native character dates its origin. After the death of Erdeni Bakshi the superintendence of this writing was committed to Dakai Bakshi, a literary officer of the Blue banner, who, together with Kurshen and others, removed difficulties and made additions, arranging the whole under twelve classes.[1] The earliest coins of the Mandshus (period T'ien-ming, 1616–1626) bear a superscription in that stage of their writing. From 1632 to 1641, Dakai undertook a thorough revision of the characters,[2] added points and diacritical marks as well as supplementary classes of characters.[3]

[1] Cf. *Man-tchou ming tchin tchuen*, Bk. 8, f. 28: A. Wylie, *Translation of the Ts'ing wan ké mung*, pp. xxvi–xxix.

[2] Cf. *Man-tchou ming tchin tchuen*, Bk. 3, f. 21; *ibid.* p. xxix.

[3] The Emperor, addressing Dakaï, said: "Hitherto our twelve classes of characters have not been marked with rings or points, and the natural divisions

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Thus augmented the writing consisted of 38 simple characters, 29 compounds forming nearly 1300 syllables, and from that time to the present there has been no change of importance in the form of the characters. In 1699, the K'ang-hi Emperor caused a stone tablet to be erected to the memory of Dakaï Bakshi, on which a record of his labours is set forth.

130. The Kalmücks or Eleut in their migration westwards from their old home in Sungaria to the banks of the lower Volga in 1616 A.D., brought with them a simplified form of the Mongol alphabet, composed of 14 consonants and seven vowels, making together 105 sound-syllables.[1] The great majority of the people migrated again eastwards, returning to China in 1770 A.D.;[2] but some of them remained in the region of Astrakan, where the aforesaid characters are still employed for the preservation of some fragmentary remains of Buddhist literature.

All these writings are written in vertical columns from top to bottom, arranged from left to right. That disposition arose from the original arrangement of the Syriac characters turned upwards, as shown by the diagrams of the original and later Syriac given above (§ 123).

d) *The Lepcha or Rong Writing.*

131. The Lepcha of Sikhim, east of Nepaul and south of Tibet, have an alphabet whose character Csoma de Körös

have been run together without distinction. Now a youth who has studied this writing, when he merely meets with ordinary words in it, understands them without difficulty; but when proper names occur, he is sure to fall into error. Do you now invent a system of rings and points, in order to make the distinctions, so that the characters may clearly express the sense and sound, and the study may be attended with greater advantage." Dakaï thereupon applied himself to follow out the emperor's views, and arranged the points and guttural marks now in use. Besides this, finding the characters of the twelve classes insufficient to express all the sounds of the Chinese, he added a number extra. Still even with these additions it was found that some words could not be accurately represented; whereupon he resorted to the expedient of running two syllables into one, after the manner of the Chinese *fan-tsieh* syllabic spelling, and this was found to be more efficient for the Mandshu than the Chinese. A. Wylie, *ibid.*

[1] Cf. B. Bergmann, *Nomadische Streifereien unter der Kalmücken.* The syllabary is reproduced in Faulmann's *Illustrirte Geschichte der Schrift*, p. 327.

[2] On these migrations westwards and eastwards, cf. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. i. pp. 561-579. And also M. Gueluy, *La Chine occidentale, Mœurs et histoire par un voyageur*, traduit du chinois, in le Muséon, Avril, 1886, vol. v. pp. 238-246.

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pronounced to be not Tibetan. Its Indian derivation cannot be doubtful, though its genealogy has yet to be established. The arrangement and phonetic peculiarities are Nagari, but the shapes of the characters seem peculiar. I have carefully examined it and think that its strangeness will disappear before any observer as it did to me, when I considered the characters as being sideways, *i.e.* laid down on the left. This shows that the writing which is now drawn from left to right, was formerly written from top to bottom in the Chinese and Kalmuk-Mongol-Mandshu fashion. The diacritical marks are in their right place according to the Indian standard; but the characters individually have remained as they were when written one under the other. The prototype seems to be the same as that of the Tibetan,[1] viz. the Nagari of the fifth century, as shown by the Allahabad inscriptions.

132. This peculiarity is not unimportant for the history of writing in that country, and may lead to further disclosures. Applied to its language, the Lepcha writing is phonetic; there is no important discrepancy between the transcription and pronunciation, no gap between the written and spoken language, as in the case of the Tibetan, Burmese, and Siamese, of which we have ancient written texts. There is nothing conventional in the reading of the characters, so that there is sufficient ground to infer that the people have not long been in possession of the writing, unless a complete reform should have taken place at a particular time: for instance, when the writing was written horizontally instead of in its once perpendicular direction, still preserved by, and shown in the lying down to the left, of the shapes of the characters, otherwise similar to the Indian standard from which they were derived. Now there is no indication of any such literally revolution among them, and the small number of traditions collected by Dr. Campbell and Col. Mainwaring[2] does not justify any idea that the people ever

[1] Vid. § 96 above.

[2] Dr. Campbell, *Journ. Beng. Asiat. Soc.* 1840, vol. ix. Col. G. B. Mainwaring, *A Grammar of the Rong (Lepcha) Language, as it exists in the Darjeling and Sikim Hills* (Calcutta, 1876, 4to.).

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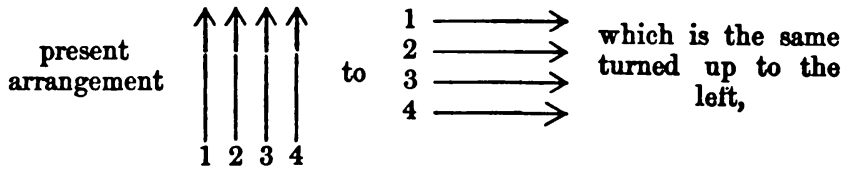
was in so high a state of culture that such a thing could have happened. They must have obtained their writing in recent times, and I should say that the five hundred years given as the most remote date of their national existence are more than required under the circumstances of the case.

133. They cannot have obtained it direct from the Tibetan. The former transitory condition of the writing precludes such a possibility, though it undoubtedly belongs to the same stem. They must therefore have learnt it previous to their migration to Sikkim, at the time when they were wandering or established in the south-east of Tibet. Future travellers will at no distant date be able to find out whether any writing of this description is still lingering in these parts, and to discover traces of its former existence.

e) *The Battak of Sumatra.*

134. The Battaks, the lettered cannibals of Sumatra, have a system of writing disposed in vertical columns from bottom to top and then from left to right.[1] This peculiarity gives a strange appearance to the writing, which is undoubtedly a degraded type of Indian descent, through the old Kawi of Java. But if we replace the Battak writing in the original position of its graphic ascendants, namely, from



the peculiarities disappear, and their reason for having adopted their present curious process is explained by the material they use to write upon. It consists of long strips of bamboo, welded by beating one to the other, and then folded in a fan-like manner; they place the latter between two wooden boards and bind the whole together with a string of woven rushes. So that a writing on their strips of bamboo from

[1] There are four varieties: Mandeling, Angkola, Toba, Dasri, in K. F. Holle, *Tabel van Oud- and Nieuw-Indische Alphabetten* (Batavia, 1882, 8vo.), Nos. 130, 131, 132, 133. Other names are also sometimes quoted, such as Pakpak, Zingkal, by Prof. A. H. Keane, in A. R. Wallace's *Australasia*, p. 630.

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left to right, each line under the other as long as is necessary or as the strip goes, looks when the strip is folded as if disposed in columns to be read from top to bottom, and then from left to right. This is apparently the original explanation of the above peculiarity.[1]

f) *A Vertical Writing in Ceylon?*

135. Diodorus Siculus, who was a contemporary with Augustus, has recorded in his Biblioteca historica a somewhat marvellous account of a journey in the East undertaken by Iambulus, son of a Greek merchant. Amongst other descriptions, there is a lengthy one of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of an island in the south: "The inhabitants study all sciences and especially astrology; their alphabet is made up of seven characters whose value is equivalent to twenty-eight letters, as each primitive character can be modified in four different ways; their writing is drawn, not horizontally like ours, but vertically from top to bottom."[2] The substratum of truth which underlies this statement is difficult to determine. The identification of the island spoken of is not ascertained definitively; there are many good reasons for belief that it is Ceylon, and the authorities in favour of this view are numerous.[3] On the other hand, Lassen understood it as being Bali,[4] and the minor authority of Wilford is in favour of Sumatra.[5] Tennent said that in the pretended account of the island, he could not discover a single attribute sufficient to identify it with Ceylon, the existence of which had been known to the Greeks three hundred years before.[6]

[1] "The present mode of writing the Battak is by scratching it with a kreis on a bamboo, beginning at the bottom and writing perpendicularly upwards, in direct opposition to the Chinese mode. Marsden has published the radicals, but by mistake placed them sideways horizontally, instead of perpendicular."

[2] Cf. Diodor. Sicul. *Biblioteca historica*, lib. ii. cap. 57.

[3] Cf. Vincent's *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.*

[4] *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. iii. p. 270.

[5] *Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West*, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x. p. 150; Ramusio, vol. i. p. 176, held the same opinion.

[6] "On the contrary, the traits which he narrates of the country and its inhabitants, when they are not manifest inventions, are obviously borrowed from the descriptions of the continent of India given by Ctesias and Megasthenes."—*Ceylon*, by Sir James Emerson Tennant, 2nd edit. vol. i. p. 531-532, n.

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136. But if there are still some doubts as to the island spoken of, the information about the writing is certainly genuine, and concerns a system of Indian origin. Prinsep has said, "It would be difficult to describe the condition of the Indian alphabetical system more accurately than Iambulus has done in this short summary, which proves to be not only true in the general sense of the classification of letters, but exact as to the origin and formation of the symbols." [1] The numbers, however, do not agree, except if we take the seven letters as representing the seven *vargas* or divisions of the Nagari alphabet; the four modifications are the vocalic marks; but the direction again disagrees, as all the Indian writings run from left to right, so that it may be a writing derived from the Indian stem, but simplified to the fewest possible symbols, and modified in its arrangement by some occasional adventure, as has happened with the Battak writing.

VII. Lost, Forgotten, and Recovered Writings.

a) *In S.W. Asia.*

137. The decipherment of the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and those of the various writings in wedge characters of Babylonia, Assyria, Van, Suza, Media, Persia, which achieved successively since the beginning of the present century, have enlarged beyond any suspected limits the field of history, are likely to be followed, before we reach the beginning of the following century, by some more decipherments of other hieroglyphico-phonetic writings from America, and also in S.W. Asia.

The Hittite characters in N.W. Syria are the most important item of hieroglyphics of the old world now under the consideration of a few scholars, and still unread. They were the monumental and official means of expression of a once powerful

[1] J. Prinsep, in *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, 1837, vol. vi. p. 476. The lamented Dr. Burnell (*Elements of South Indian Palæography*, 2nd edit. London, 1878, 4to.), says, p. 48, n. 2: "I pass over the statement of Iambulus, as it is impossible to explain it by any Indian alphabet as yet known."

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empire[1] or agglomeration of states, which were once a match for the Egyptian power; but the exact dates of their beginnings are not yet known. The great philologist of Oxford, Prof. A. H. Sayce, is the only scholar who hitherto has scientifically attacked their decipherment, and who has been able to recover the value of a few symbols with the help of the Cypriote syllabary, which he thinks, rightly in my opinion, to have been derived from these hieroglyphics. Any great advance in the decipherment is dependent on the finding of some more important bilingual texts than those which have hitherto come to light.[2] There are discrepancies between the monuments known hitherto which probably correspond to some difference in the language and a branching off in the writing.[3]

138. On a small stone inscription of Rim-aku, *circa* 2200 B.C,[4] about the middle of the reverse of the stone, are some curious graphitti, which the late Dr. Birch supposed to be Chinese. I cannot, however, by any possibility identify the combination of characters they represent. But the family resemblance is undeniable, and is easily explained away by my former discovery, that the oldest Chinese writing was derived from a current form of the Babylonian wedge-writing, minus the wedge.

139. The Asianic syllabary is one of the reconstructions still unachieved, due to the genius and acuteness of the

[1] The first sketch was disclosed by Prof. A. H. Sayce, *A Forgotten Empire in Asia Minor*, Aug. 1880 (*Fraser's Magazine*, pp. 223–233). The late François Lenormant was engaged in a thorough investigation of their historical and geographical remains when an untimely death stopped his pen. Cf. his *Origines de l'histoire*, vol. ii. part ii. Paris, 1884, pp. 267–379.

[2] Cf. A. H. Sayce, *The Monuments of the Hittites*, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vol. vii. pp. 248–293; *The Bilingual Hittite and Cuneiform Inscriptions of Tarkondemos*, ibid. pp. 294–308; and many notes in the *Academy*. William Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites* (London, 1885, 2nd edit.), where Prof. A. H. Sayce has contributed an important chapter on the decipherment, and Mr. W. H. Rylands a nearly complete set of the inscriptions. Cf. also A. Amiaud, *Simple coup d'œil sur la bulle de Iovanoff et sur les inscriptions hétéennes* (in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, August, 1886, Leipzig), pp. 274–288.

[3] A new hæmatite seal, dug out at Yûz'aâd in Asia Minor, has just been acquired by the British Museum. Should its genuineness be proved, it exhibits at the same time similarities and divergences with the Hittite characters hitherto known. A description of it has appeared in *The Times* (9 Nov. 1886), and an autotype facsimile published by the *Soc. Bibl. Arch., Proc.* 2 Nov., 1886, p. 27.

[4] T. G. Pinches, MS. note, 8th May, 1885.

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late François Lenormant and of Professor A. H. Sayce. The lamented French scholar had sagaciously suggested [1] that the Cypriote syllabary and the non-Hellenic elements in the Lycian and Carian alphabets would ultimately prove to be derived from an ancient graphic system common to the peoples of Cyprus and Asia Minor. The Cappadocian and Pamphylian are some more of these mixed alphabets, of Greek and Asianic characters;[2] the latter being all derived from a common source, a syllabic writing evidently of immense antiquity, which prevailed throughout Asia Minor. Prof. Sayce has shown reasons to believe that the characters inscribed on the Trojan whorls found in the lower stratum at Hissarlik belong to the same syllabary.[3] And it may be stated that he has established beyond any doubt, by means of a number of characteristic instances, that the Asianic syllabary was derived from the hieroglyphic writing of the Hittites.[4]

140. An unknown writing, which seems to fill up a much-wanted gap, has been found [5] in 1882 on a contract clay-tablet of Babylon, dated in the 23rd year of *Artakshatsu* (Artaxerxes). Besides twenty-three lines of cuneiform writing, it contains one line and several strips of unknown characters, more or less clearly traced, some forty in number. Their characteristics are some rounded forms and visible combinations of signs, two traits similar to the Indo-Bactrian alphabet [6] in contradistinction to the pointed forms and in-

[1] *Essai sur la propagation de l'alphabet Phenicien dans l'Ancien monde*, vol. i. p. 107.

[2] Dr. Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, vol. ii. p. 115.

[3] Appendix to Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios*, 1880.

[4] Cf. A. H. Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol.* vol. v., *Principles of Comparative Philology* (3rd edit. London, 1886), *The Asianic Syllabary*, App. iv.; and the Comparative Table in Taylor's *The Alphabet*, vol. ii. p. 123; also Prof. A. H. Sayce, in Dr. W. Wright's *Empire of the Hittites* (London, 1885, 8vo.), pp. 168–188.

[5] By Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, who then showed it to me. He has since published a facsimile of the whole tablet, and a translation of the Cuneiform text, in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Archæology*, 3 April, 1883.

[6] It is worth noticing that the practice of monograms, where the principle of combination is carried to the utmost, by the pouring in of several characters into one, did not begin in Greece before the Persian period. I am indebted to Prof. Percy Gardner, of Cambridge and the British Museum, for the following note: "The earliest monogram, so far as I know, to be found on a Greek coin is

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dividual isolation of the characters in the Aramæan alphabets. Some of the characters on the Babylonian tablet can be easily enough connected with the Indo-Bactrian letters and combinations.[1] From an attempt at decipherment which I made in March, 1882, with the two-fold aid of the Aramæan and Indo-Bactrian letters, and which disclosed notably words corresponding to several of the names of the witnesses mentioned in the cuneiform text, I thought and still think[2] that further investigation will show that this unknown writing furnishes the wanted link between the recognized Semitic basis of the Indo-Bactrian writing and its western antecedent.

141. A round and cursive writing, which reminds one of the Indo-Bactrian, and of which neither the ancestry nor the progeny are known, is that which occurs on the Sabæan coins from the fifth century B.C. downwards.[3] These coins are trilingual, Greek, Musnad, and the writing unknown. Putting aside the Greek letters *A Θ E*, which are reproduced in imitation of the Athenian originals, there remain two genuine legends.[4] The Musnad characters, also called Himyaritic, give two words, *y-n-p* and *χ-l-d*, which I have recovered in the unknown letters with the help of the Indo-Bactrian alphabet, to which they are evidently related. The

ΔΕ (= Ε Δ) on a coin of Edessa, of about B.C. 480 (see *Cat. Gr. Coins, Macedon*, p. 37). But for a century after this they are very rare, and do not become usual until the time of Alexander the Great."

[1] The late Dr. A. Burnell, in his last days, was made acquainted with this unknown writing by a rude tracing, which he was unable to study properly, and from which he fancied a connection with the Indo-Pāli characters (*The Academy*, No. 528, 17 June, 1882), an opinion in which I cannot concur. We shall have to study the question more fully below.

[2] Cf. *The Oldest Book of the Chinese and its Authors*, § 25 n., *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* Oct. 1882, Vol. XIV. p. 803.

[3] Cf. Barclay V. Head, *Himyarite and other Arabian Imitations of Athenian Coins* (*Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. 1878, vol. xviii. pp. 273-284); *On a Himyaritic Tetradrachm and the Trésor de Sanâ* (ibid. 1880, vol. xx. pp. 303-310). W. F. Prideaux, On some Recent Discoveries in South-Western Arabia (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vol. i. 1873). G. Schlumberger, *Le Trésor de Sanâ* (Monnaies himyaritiques), Paris, 1880, 4to. The most important work on the history of the region is that of Dr. D. H. Müller, of Vienna, *Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens* parts i. and ii.

[4] Dr. Mordtmann, in his *Neue himyarische Münzen*, p. 299 (*Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Wien, 1881), has proposed a decipherment with the aid of the early Pehlvi in reading the legend topsy-turvy! Besides the incongruity of this process, there is an insuperable objection to read an inscription with a writing of a distant country seven centuries afterwards.

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matter requires more extended explanations and à distinct enquiry, which space here precludes.[1]

142. In a manuscript of 1535 A.D., twenty-one letters from a forgotten writing once proper to the Albanians have lately been discovered by Dr. N. Karamianz,[2] who has identified them with as many letters of the Minuscules Armenian.

b) *Bactrian and Chinese.*

143. An interesting alliance of writings is that which is exhibited by the bilingual Bactrian-Chinese mintage,[3] of which a specimen, or rather two specimens (round pieces), were brought back by Sir Douglas Forsyth, from his expedition to Yarkand.[4] These copper coins he procured in the town of Khotan, together with some gold rings of Indian type. The meeting of the Indo-Bactrian writing of Aramæan descent with the Chinese symbols, on the same money, and in certain conditions, would involve a larger study than space can permit here. We know that the Chinese had extended their political power in the basin of the Tarym, and west of the Tsung-ling range over a large number of small states, towards the beginning of the first century B.C. But this power and influence do not seem to have been great enough to justify anywhere an issue of bilingual money. And should this influence have been strong enough, the Chinese residents could not have introduced another design of money than that which was then the current and standard money of the Han dynasty, namely, the one-inch, round, square-holed pieces, with the legend *Wu tchu*, i.e. "five tchus." The

[1] M. J. Halevy (*Journal Asiatique*, 14 Jan. 1881) has remarked that the coins must be called Sabean and not Himyaritic, as they belong to a period previous to the Himyaritic dynasty. Caussin de Perceval (*Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'islamisme*, vol. i. p. 63) says that this dynasty began in the first century before the Christian era. Cf. also Fr. Lenormant, *Lettres Assyriologiques*, vol. ii. p. 13.

[2] N. Karamianz, *Einundzwanzig Buchstaben eines verlorenen Alphabets* (*Zeitschrift f. D. Morgen. Ges.* 1886, xl. pp. 325-319).

[3] Prof. Percy Gardner, *Coins from Kashgar* (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1879, vol. xix. pp. 274-281).

[4] It was long supposed that the principal one of these two coins, the larger and the only bilingual, was made of iron; but I had it tested at the British Museum, and there is no doubt that it is of copper.

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latter, to state it roughly, had superseded *p'an liang*, or half-ounce, another legend which on pieces of various sizes had been in use since the days of the Ts'in dynasty (B.C. 221–202).

144. But the Chinese legends on the above two pieces have nothing to do with one or the other of the above legends.[1] That of the smaller piece[2] is some debased Chinese characters, like a barbarous imitation of 半金 *p'an kin* 'half-kin,' a design which is familiar to us on several mintages current in Northern China about 300 B.C.[3] The legend of the other piece is of a more elaborate character. In the centre is the Chinese symbol 貝 *pei* for 'money or precious' and formerly cauris. The exergue is so much worn as to be difficult to read;[4] it seems to me to be 錢？重一兩四珠. The first two symbols are not the rendering of a proper name, but simply the denomination of the coin; the others are the weight, *i.e.* "weighing one ounce and four tchus," and correspond to a well-known design of mintage current also in the third century B.C.,[5] but chiefly in the westernmost Chinese state, that of Ts'in, then fighting for the Empire.

145. These two legends must have been borrowed by some neighbouring people, who by intercourse had acquired something of the Chinese civilization, writing and currency. This people can be none other than the *Yueh-ti*, who in the third century were very flourishing on the north-west of the said Ts'in state and conterminous with it.[6] The *Yueh-ti* formed five tribes, one of which, the *Kuei-shwang*, afterwards assumed the lead over the other four tribes. But they were attacked in 201 B.C. by the Turks Hiung-nu, and about B.C.

[1] Cf. T. de Lacouperie, *The Coins and Medals of China in the British Museum*, etc., vol. i. Nos. 174–302.

[2] This small piece is only known to me by the woodcut published by Prof. Percy Gardner in his above-named paper, p. 3, No. 2.

[3] Vid. the illustrations and decipherments in my work, *The Coins and Medals of China in the British Museum*, etc., vol. i. pp. 18–30.

[4] The piece was kindly lent to me for examination by the late Mr. Edward Thomas.

[5] Cf. *The Coins and Medals of China*, p. 321.

[6] "When Ts'in subverted the other six states (of the Chinese agglomeration), ... the Yueh-ti were in a flourishing condition." *Tsien Han shu*, bk. 94; A. Wylie, *History of the Hiung-nu in their relations with China*, 1873 (*Journ. Anthrop. Institute*).

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165 compelled to flee westwards,[1] carrying with them their knowledge of Chinese writing and currency. In 126 B.C. the Chinese ambassador Tchang kien, who was sent after them in order to secure their alliance against the Hiung-nu, finds them settled north of the Oxus; and a century later K'iu-tsiu-kio, or Kadphises I., of the Kuei-shwang tribe, the Kushans of the Persians, unites the five tribes, invades[2] *Ansih* (Parthia) and annihilates *Puk-ta* (Bactria) and *Ki-pin* (Kophene).[3] They came thus into contact with the Greeks, and Hermæus, the last of the Greek rulers of Cabul, was for a while confederate or allied with Kadphises I.; they had a common bilingual mintage, Greek and Indo-Bactrian, the legend of the Kushan King being that written in the latter characters.[4]

146. The solution of the chronological and geographical problem involved by the above mintage, Bactrian-Chinese in its legend, is nearly given by the decipherment of the Bactrian legend. It is on one side so extremely corroded that it will not divulge its complete secret, and unhappily the less decipherable part is that which contains the name of the King. The words visible are *Maharajasa Rajadirajasa . . . sa . . . mayasa*,[5] which fit exactly to the legend of Hermæus as exhibited in the Græco-Bactrian specimens. Therefore, the date of this Bactrian-Chinese mintage would be most probably about B.C. 26, and its origin Yueh-ti-Kushan. While the smaller specimen, unilingual, in debased Chinese, would be also Yueh-ti, but previous to their coming into contact with the Bactrians, examplifying another hitherto unknown extension of the Chinese writing westwards through another channel than that of the Chinese themselves.

[1] Mr. E. Specht (*Journal Asiatique*, 1883, vol. ii. pp. 317-350) has collected chronologically the texts concerning them, and has been able to throw much light on their movements.

[2] About B.C. 31 Phraates, with the help of a Scythian army, expelled Tiridates from the government of Parthia.

[3] *Hou Han shu* (*Yuen kien lei han*, bk, 237, fol. 43).

[4] Cf. Prof. Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* (London, 1886. 8vo.), pp. xxxi. sq., 120 sq.

[5] Prof. P. Gardner (*Coins from Kashgar*, p. 2) had read: *Maharajasa raja . . . . . yasa*, which he proposed to complete by . . . *dirajasa tradatasa Herama . . . . . .*, in agreement with some well-known legends of coins of Hermæus.

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c) *India.*

147. The *Lalita-vistara*, ch. x., puts in the young Bôdhisattva's mouth, when he was led to the writing-school *lipisâla*, an interesting list of 64 writings. We reproduce the fragment from the recent translation of Baboo Rajendra Lal Mitra[1] and of Mr. Ph. Ed. Foucaux:[2]—"Now Bodhisattva, taking up a tablet made of Uragasára sandal-wood and excellent ink, with a golden pen mounted with jewels, thus addressed the tutor Višvámitra: 'Which is the writing, sir, which you wish to teach me?

1) Is it the Brahmi writing?
2) or the Kharostî?[3]
3) or the Pushkarasari?
4) or the writing of Angâ?
5) or that of Bânga?
6) or that of Magadha?
7) or the Mâñgalya writing?[4]
8) or the Manushya writing?
9) or the Finger writing (Anguli)?
10) or the Çakári writing?[5]
11) or the Brahmavalli writing (Tib. Yavana)?[6]
12) or the Dravida writing?
13) or the Kinari writing (Tib. Kiratas)?[7]

[1] *Bibliotheca Indica*, N.S. No. 473.

[2] Ph. Ed. Foucaux, *Rgya-Tcher-Rol-pa, ou développement des Jeux*, contenant l'histoire du Bouddha Çakya-Muni, traduit sur la version Tibetaine du Bkah Hgyour et revu sur l'original sanscrit (Lalita-vistara), 2 vols. Paris, 1847, 4to.; vol. ii. pp. 122–123. *Le Lalita Vistara*, traduit du sanscrit en français (in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. vi. 1884), pp. 114–115. I have compared also the list with those of the two Chinese versions, viz. in the *P'u yao king*, iii. 7, fol. 5, and in the *Fang kwang ta tchwang yen king*, bk. iv. fol. 6 (edit. of the Tripitaka, Nos. 159, 160), and I have noticed the variants of names when important, marking them A and B for these two works.

[3] Chin. A: 佉留 *Kiü-liu*; B: 佉盧虱底 *Kiü-lu-she-ti*. The first syllable is also casually written 伽 *kia*.

[4] Chin. A: 安求 *An-kiu*.

[5] A 13: *Tsih-kien*.

[6] A 10: *P'an*, 半; B *Ye-pa-ni*, both transcriptions of *Yavanas*. Professor Albrecht Weber, of Berlin, in his Indische Studien, xxi. 399–400, has mentioned that in Jaïn books an enumeration is given of writings known to them. The first is the *Labamkhi* or 'holy writing,' then comes the *Yavanâni*.

[7] A 12: *Kin-dzu*, mod. *Ki'n-yu*.

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14) or that of Dakshina ?[1]
15) or that of Ugra ?[2]
16) or the Figure writing (Sañkhya) ?
17) or the Cursive writing (Anuloma) ?[3]
18) or the Half-bow shaped writing (Ard hadanus) ?
19) or that of Darada ?
20) or that of Khósya ?
21) or that of Tchîna ?[4]
22) or that of Húṇa ?[5]
23) or that in which the letters are most in the middle (Madhyakshara-vistara) ?
24) or the Flowery writing (Pushpa) ?
25) or the writing of the Dêvas ?
26) or that of the Nâgas ?
27) or that of the Yakshas ?
28) or that of the Gandharbas ?
29) or that of the Kinnaras ?
30) or that of the Mahoragas ?
31) or that of the Asuras ?
32) or that of the Garudas ?
33) or that of the Mriga-ugra ?
34) or the circular writing (Tchakra) ?
35) or that of the Vayumaruts ?
36) or that of the Bhaumadêvas ?
37) or that of the Antarikshadêvas ?
38) or that of the Uttarakuru ?[6]
39) [7] or that of the Purvavideha ?[8]
40) or the perpendicular writing (Utkshapa) ?
41) or the pendulous writing (Nikshepa) ?
42) or the scattered writing (Vikshepa) ?

[1] A 7: *Tatan*, afterwards *Ta Ts'in* 大 秦; B 12: *To-tso-na* 多 瑳 那.
[2] A 14: *Dzi-dik-tak* 夷 狄 塞, mod. *I-tih-seh*.
[3] A 16: 康 居, *Kang-kiŭ*, mod. Samarcand. Vid. below, § 150, n. 1.
[4] A (20): 秦 *Ts'in*; B 19: 支 那 *Tchi-na*.
[5] A 21: *Hiung-nu*; B 20: *Hu-na*.
[6] Chin. A 37: *Peh fang t'ien hia*, i.e. northern regions.
[7] Foucaux's text has *Aparagâṇḍani* after 38, and before Purvavideha. In Chinese A 38: *Kiu-ye-ni* for Gâuḍani.
[8] The first of the four dvipas, the eastern lands. In Chinese A 39: *Tung fang t'ien hia*, the eastern regions.

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43) or the disordered writing (Prakshepa)?
44) or the ocean writing (Sagára)?
45) or the thunderbolt writing (Vajera)?
46) or the cross writing (Lekha-pratilekha)?
47) or the slow writing (Anudruta)?
48) or the Śastravarta writing?
49) or the Gaṇavarta writing?
50) or the Utkshepavanta writing?
51) or the Nikshepavanta writing?
52) or the Paḍalikhita writing?
53) or the Dviruttarapadasandhi writing?
54) or the Yavaddaśuttarapadasandhi writing?
55) or the Adhyáhániṇi writing?
56) or the Sarvarutasañgrahaṇi writing?
57) or the Vidyanuloma writing?
58) or the Vimisrita writing?
59) or the Ṛishitapastaptáñ writing?
60) or the Gagaṇaprekshaṇi writing?[1]
61) or the Rochamanandharani-prekshana writing?
62) or the Sarvanshadhinisyandañ writing?
63) or the Sarvasárasañgrahani writing?
64) or the Sarvabhutarutagrahani writing?[2]

[1] This is missing in Foucaux's text.

[2] It is interesting to compare with this list that which is given in the Tibetan version. I quote from M. Ed. Foucaux's French translation, vol. ii. pp. 122–123, and I subjoin the numbers which correspond to the text of the *Bibl. Indic.* as above: "Ecriture de 1) Brahma; 2) Kharôsti; 3) de l'essence du lotus; 4) d'Añga; 5) de Mañga; 6) du pays de Magadha; 7) de ceux qui ont la benediction; 8) de ceux qui ont des doigts; 10) de Çakani; de Yavana; de Baglêpa; de Paroncha; des étus volante; 13) des Kiratas; 14) de l'horizon du sud; 15) d'Ougra; des nombres Sañkhyâ; à tête renversée; régulière; 19) de Darada; 20) de Konça; 21) de Tchìna; de Ph'onna; 22) de Houna; 23) moyenne; grosse; 24) de Penchya; 25) des Dieux; 26) des Nagas; 27) des Yakchas; 28) des Gandharbas; 29) des Kinnaras; 30) des Mahoragas; 31) des Asouras; 32) des Garandas; des bêtes fauves; 34) du cercle; de ceux qui savent le langage des corneilles; des dieux qui president à la terre; 35) des dieux de l'atmosphère; 38) des régions d'Outtarakouran; d'Aparagôdâni; 39) de Pourvavidêha; 40) d'Outkchêpa; 41) de Nikchêpa; 42) de Vikchêpa; 43) de Prakchêpa; 44) de l'Ocean; 45) de la fondre; d'une lettre d'avis et de la réponse; cursive; possée; 48) tournante des Çastras; tournante des calculs; 50) tournante d'Outkchêpa; 51) tournante de Nikchêpa; 52) tracée avec le pied; 53) des sandhi (liaison) d'un mot repeté deux fois; 54) du sandhi d'un mot repeté dix fois; 55) de Madhyâhârini; de tous les sons réunis; de la science methodique; de la science confuse; 59) des Richis livrés à l'éxercice de la penitence; certaine des dieux; visible de la terre; visible du ciel; par ordre de tous les remèdes; de la collection complète de toutes les essences; de la réunion de la voix de tous les êtres."

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Out of these sixty-four kinds which is it, sir, that you wish to teach me?'"

148. This complete list, from the *Lalita-vistara*, is in itself valueless for scientific purposes, but a few of the names derive interest, as far as we can ascertain their precise reference to some known writings, from the date of its composition.[1] Therefore the vexed question as to the date of the work is important. The Sanskrit text now known is almost identical with that which was translated into Chinese in 685 A.D. under the title of *Fang kwang ta tchwang yen king*, and later on into Tibetan *Rgya-tcher-rol-pa*. The differences are unimportant, as for instance in the case of this list, which amounts to 65 in these Chinese and Tibetan versions. The said Chinese version covers about 540 pages of text.[2]

An earlier text of probably the same work had been previously translated three times into Chinese, in *circa* 250, 308 and 427 A.D., under the title of *P'u-yao king*, but the first and third of these were already lost in 730 A.D.[3] The second, which is still in existence, covers about 360 pages of text, namely, one-third less than the version of 685 A.D. in the same edition of the Buddhist Tripitâka.[4] The third century[5] is therefore the earliest period which from the translations can be assigned to the ground-work of the *Lalita-vistara*. Any earlier date must be sought for from internal evidence. Under this respect some statements from the chapter on writings are not without interest.

The list in the *P'u-yao king* is one of 64, as in the known Sanskrit text, but while many names are the same, either

[1] The *Lalita-vistara* is neither a poem nor a prose text. M. Ph. Ed. Foucaux evaluates the proportion of prose to three-fifths of the whole work. The other two-fifths are some sort of *gathas*, or popular verses interspersed with the prose text, and always introduced in support of the latter. The distinction of prose and verse is carefully preserved in the Chinese translations.

[2] In the Japanese edition of the Chinese Tripitaka at the India Office Library.

[3] Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Nos. 159, 160.

[4] M. E. Senart, *La Legende du Bouddha*, p. 497, n. 4, has given an accurate summary of this work, says S. Beal, *The Buddhist Tripitâka*, p. 18.

[5] That of 65 A.D., which is often repeated from the late Stan. Julien, was a confusion made by this scholar with another work. Cf. B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, col. 380.

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translated or transcribed as usual in Buddhist-Chinese versions, some of them are altogether different, and others are neither more nor less than rough-and-ready identifications by the translator. I have given the identification in all cases of interest.

149. The above list of 64 writings bears internal evidence of successive composition, the names being arranged in several broken series of cognates or classes, which, however, find some additions scattered in the sequel. The names may be arranged under five heads:

a) *Referring to certain writings of importance*, such as those indicated by the numbers 1, 2, 3. Thus 1) is that of *Brahma*,[1] otherwise the Sanskrit writing. 2) That of *Kharôsti*,[2] a (Semitic) writing running from right to left in contradistinction to the preceding, as explained by a tradition preserved in China, and referring to the Indian, Kia-liu, and Chinese writing, all differing in the direction of their course. 3) That of *Pushkarasari* is difficult to identify, though the name stands somewhat isolated along with the two others at the

[1] The *Fa wan shu lin*, Encyclopædia of Extracts from the Tripitaka, compiled in 668 A.D. by Tao-shi, reports a tradition attributing the invention of writing to three individuals: 1) *Fan* (or Brahma), who wrote from left to right; 2) *Kia-lu* (or *Kia-lu-she-to* for Kharôshta), who wrote from right to left; and 3) *Tsang-hieh* (the Chaldean Dungi, as I have shown elsewhere), who wrote from top to bottom, and is the legendary inventor of the Chinese characters. Now the *Kia-lu* appears with the *Fan* writing, quoted apart as equally important, in the seventh chapter of the *P'u yao king*, and also at the head of the list of 64 writings of the same chapter, which corresponds to the tenth of the *Lalita-vistara* Sanskrit text, and of the later Chinese version, where, however, this list is one of 65. The date of 308 A.D. for the *P'u-yao king* version, still in existence, and that of circa 250 A.D. for the first version of the same work, are the only precise data concerning the existence of the *Lalita-vistara*, or the non-completed text of this work.

[2] It was transcribed variously, as seen above, § 147, n. 3, but explained by 驢唇, i.e. 'ass' lips,' which is the meaning of *Kharosti*, which name can be easily recognized in the complete Chinese rendering *Kia-lu-she-ti*. Kharôsti is the name of the man to whom the legend ascribes the introduction of astronomy into Chaldea, according to Armenian authorities. The accuracy of the Chinese transcription and explanation does not permit our acceptance of the suggestion of Prof. Alb. Weber (*Indian Literature*, p. 248) assimilating the name to that of Krashuṭuki, reputed in the Atharva Paris. (*Lit. C. Bl.* 1869, p. 1497), to have arranged the constellations in the order beginning with *Kṛittika*.

From the aforesaid association of the two names of the *Fan* and *Kia-lu* writings on the same footing, we may infer that this association belongs to the time when the two writings known as Aryan-Pali and Bactro-Pali were used in N. India; their respective directions from left to right and from right to left, as preserved in the Chinese legend, support this inference, which is perhaps suggestive in other respects.

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head of the list. The name is that of the seventh dvipa in the mythical geography of the Vishnu Purana,[1] and does not admit there of any reduction to positive geography. Another tradition makes Pushkara a son of Bharata, and elsewhere this same name has been connected with a district north of Pêshawar.[2]

150. The other heads are the following:

b) *Referring to writings of particular people or countries*, in and outside India; such as (4) Angâ,[3] (5) Bangâ,[4] (6) Magadha;[5] (12) Dravida; (13) of the Kinnari, the Kiratas[6] of the Tibetan version; (14) of Dakshina, the *Ta Tsin* of the older and the *To-tso-na* of the later Chinese version; (19) Darada, the Dards of the Hindu Kush; (20) Khosya, the Khasiyas of N.E. Bengal; (21) Tchina,[7] the Shins of Dardistan; (22) Huna, the Hiung-nu, Turkish tribes, of the older Chinese version; (10) Cakari, probably for the Sakas in the N.W.; (11) Brahmavalli, the Yavanas[8] of the Tibetan

[1] *Vishnu Purana*, ii. 1 and 4; transl. H. H. Wilson, edit. Fitzedward Hall (London, 1865), vol. ii. pp. 101, 201.

[2] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. i. p. 109. Pushkarâvati was the old capital of Gandhâra. Cf. *Vishnu Purana*, transl. Wilson, vol. iii. p. 319.

[3] The country about Bhagulpoor, of which Champa was the capital, mentioned with the following, in the *Mahabharata*, Bhisma Parvan, sl. 317–378.

[4] i.e. Eastern Bengal.

[5] The cradle of Buddhism near S. Behar.

[6] The *Kiratæ* of Ptolemy, assimilated to the *Kiranti* of the present day, N. Bengal; also mentioned in the *Mahabharata*.

[7] Written *Tsin* 秦, and 支那 *Tchi na*, in the Chinese versions; must be distinguished from 至那 *Tche-na*, the Buddhist name of China. On the origin of the latter vid. above, § 80, and Col. H. Yule, Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words s.v. *China*. In the topographical lists, people and countries in the Mahabharata, there are two Chinas quoted: "Northern and other fierce Mlechchas (or barbarians), Yavanas, Chinas, Kambojas; ferocious and uncivilized races, Sakridgrahas, Kulatthas, Hunas, and Parasikas; also Romanas, Chinas, Dasamalikas, etc." The Romanas or Romans and the Chinas or Chinese, here enumerated apart from the others, were the western and eastern great civilized nations of the time. The Chinas mentioned before were undoubtedly the Shinas of Dardistan, on whom see Major Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindu Kush*, pts. iii. and xiv. This identification, proposed by Sir Henry Rawlinson, was opposed by the late G. Pauthier rather injudiciously, in ignorance of the two Chinas in the enumeration.

[8] The Greeks of Bactria, under the successors of Alexander the Great; this name was also applied in a rather loose way for any western people. The writing there indicated was certainly that of the Greeks. The late François Lenormant, in his unfinished and remarkable work *Les origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible et les traditions des peuples orientaux*, vol. ii. (2), pp. 1–28, has thoroughly investigated the question.

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and both Chinese versions; (17) Anuloma or cursive of *Kankin*[1] or Samarcand, in the older Chinese version.

c) *Referring to writings of fabulous beings*: such as (15) Ugra; (25) Devas; (26) Nâgas; (27) Yakshas; (28) Gandharvas; (29) Kinnaras; (30) Mahoragas; (31) Asuras; (32) Garudas; (35) Vayumaruts; (36) Bhaumadêvas, etc.

d) *Referring to writings of semi-mythical lands*: (38) Uttarakuru, one of the four continents north of Mount Meru; (39) Purvavideha, another of the four continents east of the same sacred mountain.

e) *Implying peculiarities in the configuration of letters.*

f) *Cryptic or imaginative forms*;[2] the thirty-five other writings must be classified under one or the other of these two divisions.

151. In the short preamble which, in the later Chinese version of the *Lalita-vistara*,[3] precedes the enumeration of the 64 writings, *P'u-sat* 菩薩,[4] i.e. Bôdhisattva, is made to take in hand the tablet of red sandal wood employed for the *T'ien-shu* or Divine writing, i.e. the Dêvanagari.[5] In the older Chinese version,[6] which is that of an earlier text, this preamble is somewhat longer and especially interesting for the case in point. The *P'u-sat* takes in hand the golden pencil and the red sandal wood tablet; then the master (Viçvamitra) states that there are two writings, that of *Fan*[7] or Brahma, and that of *K'u-liu*, both equally good and not

[1] 康居, *K'ang kiu*, also written *K'ang* only, and afterwards *Sa-mo-kien*, i.e. Samarcand. Bunyiu Nanjio, in his *Catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist Tripitaka*, cols. 383, 386, 390, has mistaken a modern Chinese name of a part of Tibet for this ancient name of Samarcand, and in consequence attributed wrongly a Tibetan origin to three Sramanas from Samarcand (8, 14, 21).

[2] Babu Rajendra Lal (*loc. cit.*) had acknowledged four, viz. *b*, *d*, *e*, *f*, of the above divisions, and indicated some ten of the named writings in reference to them.

[3] *Fan Kwang ta tchwang yen kin*, bk. iv. fol. 5*v*.

[4] Now *P'u-sa*, commonly applied in China for all kinds of gods and idols.

[5] On this name *vid. suprà*, §§ 97–99.

[6] *P'u yao king*, bk. iii. f. 4*v*.

[7] 梵 *Fan* (formerly *Bam*) for *Brahma*, as found by Stan. Julien (*Méthode pour déchiffrer les noms Sanskrits dans les livres Chinois*, N. 281), who, however, has not understood the ingenious formation of this Chinese symbol of Buddhist make. The under character was *Bam*, and the upper one, *lin*, was *lam* for *ram*; the two making *Bam-ram*, or better *B-ram*, according to the practice followed usually by the Buddhists in their Chinese transliteration of complex groups, which required the dropping of the last part of the first of two rhyming syllables.

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differing, but the *P'u-sat* retorts that there are in fact 64 different writings, and that he does not see why the master advocates only two sorts. As we have seen above, *Fan* was for the Brahman South Indian writing running from left to right. *K'u-liu* was for *Kia-lu-she-ti* or Kharosti, i.e. 'Ass' lips,' the writing running from right to left. These two names are here the designations of the Indo-Pali and Bactro-Pali; and their association on an equal footing goes far to show that the redaction of the text, where it occurs, belongs to the period when they were both in use, as from the time of or before Açoka to the first century of our era.

152. But in this name of *K'u-liu* and its meaning is hidden, I think, another valuable information concerning the primeval origin of this writing for the Hindus. Let us keep in mind the meaning 'ass' lips,' of its full form Kharôsti,[1] and premise that this name, foreign to the Sanskrit Onomastics, is a folk etymology, an Indian significant adaptation obtained in the striving after meaning of a foreign name, which name was probably no other than that of Kyros, the Kuras and Kurush of the Cuneiform inscriptions, the Khusrau of Persian history. The great conqueror had vanquished Kræsus (554 B.C.), in fulfilment of the following prediction of the Pythoness of Delphi, whose oracle the Lydian King had just consulted:

> "When Media's King shall be a mule,
> Soft-footed Lydian, by the pool
> Of pebbly Hermos fly, nor stay
> Nor dread the coward's name that day."[2]

Now as Kyros was then looked upon as a mule, being the offspring of a Persian and a Median wife,[3] the accomplishment of the prediction was certainly spread far and wide, in

[1] *Khara*, in Skr. 'ass.' Cf. my article, *Did Cyrus introduce the Writing into India?* in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record*, February, 1887.

[2] *Herodot.* i. 55, transl. Sayce.

[3] G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne*, p. 516. Prof. A. H. Sayce (*Muséon*, 1882, vol. i. p. 550) says: Cyrus was a Mardian, whose father Athadates was a brigand, and whose mother Argoste was a shepherdess of goats. Mirkhond, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, transl. D. Shea, makes Khusrau son of Ferangiz, daughter of Afrasiab, the Turkish King, and of the Persian Siyáwesh son of Kai Kaoos. Vid. pp. 226, 233.

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order to magnify his fame and inculcate a just apprehension of his advance as a conqueror.

It was previously to 540 B.C. that Kyros extended his sway in the east, north and south, and subjected to his rule the regions bordering India on the north-west, and it is therefore from that date that the introduction into India of notions of civilization from the west became possible through the channel of the well-managed Persian monarchy.[1] The knowledge and use of alphabetic writing, though limited as it may have been, because of the small demand for it in N.W. India, were certainly among the then introduced notions; and there is a great probability that in the name of the Kharôsti writing, running from right to left, as was that of the Persians, we find concealed the name of Kyros, introducer of the writing in India, and traces of his fabulous capacity of a mule or ass; the motive of the former having been lost on the way, or found objectionable for the play which was made on the name of the Persian conqueror.

153. We shall return directly to the peculiarities of this Persian writing, but we must first examine with reference to the above explanation of an historical problem, the bearing of the Armenian tradition already reported (§ 149, n. 1). Kharosti is said to have been the introducer of astronomy into Chaldæa, a statement which, with the large allowance due to Persian exaggeration, is by no means antagonistic to the identification of Kharôsti with Kyros. There is a growing feeling among Assyriologists, increasing with the progress of their science, that the ancient knowledge of astronomy in Chaldæa was not worthy of its wide repute, and did not extend much beyond a notation of astronomical events. More sensible notions and better knowledge appear on the Cuneiform tablets of later times only. This would agree with an importation of astronomical lore by the Persian conquest. We are well aware that Kwarism on the east of the Caspian Sea was an old focus of astronomy, and that important progress in the science was made there. An

[1] The conquests of Kyros the Great were achieved previous to his conquest of Babylon, which took place on the 16th of June, 538 B.C.

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adaptation of twenty-eight lunar mansions with the solar year was one of them, and it is most likely there also that the zodiacal signs were regulated. The Chorasmians used to reckon from the beginning of the colonization of their country, 980 years before Alexander,[1] *i.e.* 1304 B.C. Kyros had subdued their country and incorporated it in his dominions, previous to his conquest of Babylon,[2] and therefore their advanced knowledge in astronomy must have been carried there afterwards. The great Persian conqueror was an enlightened monarch, and was no doubt interested in the progress of science, if not himself acquainted especially with the science of Kwarism, inasmuch as the Chorasmian traditions report that his father Siyâwesh had ruled over their country.[3]

154. The Persians employed a Cuneiform writing from the time of Darius (521–485 B.C.) down to Artaxerxês Okhos (362–339 B.C.)[4] for monumental purposes. They had derived it[5] from the wedge characters of Assyro-Babylonia, and this derivation and adaptation to the requirements of their language has been rightly looked upon as an accessory proof of their having an earlier system of phonetic writing.[6] These older characters were traced on skins.[7] A tradition preserved by a very early and learned Arabic writer, Ibn-el-Nadím, who had unusually good means of information as to genuine Persian traditions, ascribes the invention of Persian writing to Jamshíd, the son of Vivenghám (who, with the Zoroastrians, was the Eponym of the Persian race), and adds that he, Jamshíd, dwelt at Assán, one of the districts of

[1] Albiruni, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, transl. Sachau, pp. 40, 57, 172, 173, etc.

[2] The same date occurs in India, that of the Jyotisha observation of the Colures, still in use in the Vedic rituals of India.—Edward Thomas, *Comments on Recent Pehlvi Decipherments*, p. 18.

[3] Albiruni, *l.c.*

[4] Prof. A. H. Sayce, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, pp. 438, 483.

[5] It was neither an alphabet nor a syllabary, as some of the signs were syllabic. The total of the characters was 38 or more. Cf. Dr. J. Oppert, *Expedition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, vol. ii. 1858, p. 12; *Mélanges perses* in *Revue de Linguistique*, iv. pp. 205-206.

[6] By Prof. C. de Harlez, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Avesta et de la religion Mazdienne*, p. 54.

[7] Vid. the authorities in C. de Harlez, *ibid.*

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Tuster (modern Shuster).[1] We can dismiss this legend without much concern, because to Jamshid, the sixth ancestor sovereign of Kyros, is attributed the authorship of everything useful and good in the Persian histories, such as that of Mirkhond. It might simply mean that the use of writing among the Persians was much older than the time of Kyros, *i.e.* some 150 years previously, or about 700 B.C.

155. No specimen of this ancient writing is known to be in existence, but we have: *a*) nearly *in situ* the Indo-Bactrian alphabet in the third century B.C., illustrated by the celebrated edict of Açôka at Kapúrdigirhi in the district of Peshâwar, and by the legends of coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India;[2] *b*) an instance of a cursive writing at Babylon under the Persian rule, 443 B.C., quite distinct from the Phœnician dockets found in Nineveh and Babylon.[3] As I have pointed out already, the latter is not without presenting some serious resemblances to the former, of which it may be looked upon as an antecedent; *c*) the specimen of the cursive writing which appears on the Sabæan coins, and belonging to the same Aramaïc origin as the preceding, was most likely brought there by the Persian influence at the same time as the habit of monograms.[4]

The Semitic ancestry of the Indo-Bactrian alphabet is an admitted fact,[5] and it has been rightly remarked that the derivation, remote as it may be, cannot be earlier than the seventh century, as it exhibits an Aramaïc feature, such as the opening of the loops of the closed heads of Phœnician letters, which was not developed before that time.[6] The immediate ancestor of this alphabet[7] was not known, but

[1] *Kitab-el-Fihrist*, p. 12, l. 22; Sir Henry Rawlinson, *Notes on a newly-discovered Clay Cylinder of Cyrus the Great*, p. 77 of *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1880, Vol. XII. pp. 70-97.

[2] Which cf. in Prof. Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* in the British Museum, 1886.

[3] Vid. supra, § 140.

[4] Cf. above, §§ 140, 141.

[5] Since its decipherment in 1837.

[6] Cf. Dr. Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, vol. ii. pp. 234, 236.

[7] The Indo-Bactrian is represented by a dozen inscriptions of various lengths, besides the legends on coins. Cf. J. Dowson, *On a newly-discovered Bactrian-Pali Inscription; and on other Inscriptions in the Bactrian-Pali Character* (*Journ.*

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now it is exceedingly probable that the aforesaid remains *b* and *c* are the only known representatives of that ancestor, which was the writing of the ancient Persians.

But the use of the Bactro-Pali was restricted to the extreme north of India, and no traces of its extension southwards has been found. Such would not have been the case should the country have been deprived of any sort of writing. This writing was the Indo-Pali and its antecedent, upon which the following remarks are necessary.

156. It would be more than singular that India, being in the vicinity of and having relations with China, should have remained without any knowledge of writing, fragmentary and imperfect as it may have been, resulting as it were from a mere rebound by necessities of trade. Writing in China was a very old institution, the knowledge of which the early civilizers of the Chinese, leaders of the immigrating Bak tribes, had brought with them from Western Asia into the Flowery Land. Confined at the outset to the basin of the Yellow River, their influence and their civilization spread more quickly and further than their political dominion, which had a very slow extension. In the west of China, namely, in Sze-tchuen, the old *Shuh* region, were established some well-gifted populations of an initiative spirit, who did not shrink from being on friendly terms with the civilized new-comers, and avail themselves of the benefit which an acquaintance with their scientific notions and arts could procure. There are all sorts of reasons for believing that this anciently-acquired knowledge was kept up by a frequent intercourse with the Chinese states bordering their respective territories. When the state of Ts'in, in the sixth century B.C., wanted to extend its power south of the Kiu-lung range, the native and non-Chinese populations there, chiefly Shan,[1] were so well acquainted with the art of writing that a written compact could be made with them.

Roy. Asiat. Soc., 1863, Vol. XX.). These various inscriptions and legends call for a remark hitherto unobserved; it is the great looseness of the shape of many characters. Does it suggest a worn-out writing, or one which was not sufficiently known? The former suggestion seems improbable.

[1] Vid. my paper, *The Cradle of the Shan Race.*

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156*b*. From the earliest ages relations have existed between India and China. Traders used to run between the Chinese agglomeration, especially the border states and India on one side, and Indo-China on the other.[1] Mercantile expeditions, which had reached the middle kingdom under the reign of Tcheng Wang (1044–1007 B.C.) of the Tchou dynasty, are recorded in literature as embassies, and from intrinsic evidence one of them, the second, had come from N.W.

[1] I have collected in a special paper, read before the Royal Asiatic Society, 16 June, 1884, all the available information and possible inferences on the matter: "*Three Embassies from Indo-China to the Middle Kingdom, and the Trade Routes thither* 3000 *years ago*," of which the following is a summary.

During the first years of the reign of Tch'eng, the second King of the Tchou dynasty (about 1030 B.C.), three so-called embassies came to the Chinese Court from Indo-China, a region which at that time was widely separated from China, whose power was not yet strongly established south of the Yangtze Kiang. These embassies were not political missions, but were only parties of merchants travelling in pursuit of their own business; they had heard of the newly-established dynasty and its wealth from the indigenous tribes of Western and Southern China, who had helped the Tchou to overthrow the preceding dynasty. The original records of the arrival of these embassies have been lost in one or other of the five great bibliothecal catastrophes in which the greater part of the historical literature of China has been destroyed. Only a few scraps of information have survived about them, and these fragments have suffered from the various causes of alteration which have impaired the credibility of so many ancient traditions of the country. The most important of these causes being the curious and rather unfortunate influence of the two schools of Confucius and Lao-tze, which have acted differently, though in both cases in obedience to the national tendency towards the exaltation of ancestors; the Confucianists, who had no other object than to put them forward as patterns of virtue, neglected all that did not tally with their views; while the Taoists, on the other hand, desired to bring into prominence their superhuman qualities and divine character; the traditions have accordingly been amended and completed by the addition of moral padding and marvellous circumstances; the most common process being the attribution to the palmy days of the early rulers, of felicitous coincidences and glorious events similar to those which occurred at late periods. Conspicuous among these coincidences was the arrival at the court of foreigners from distant regions; for instance, the arrival of one of the so-called embassies from Indo-China was supposed to have happened also under the reign of Yao, and a detailed statement to that effect was developed accordingly from some obscure and brief entry in the ancient records.

The three embassies of about 1030 B.C. were the successive arrival of 1st, merchants from Nili, or the Norai country North of Burmah, through the Bamo road; 2nd, merchants from the S.W. of Yunnan carrying monkeys from the Kudang country, the geographical location and details concerning which prove the existence at that time of several Karen tribes in Northern Burmah and of Dravidians on the north-eastern parts of India; 3rd, merchants from Yueh-shang or Cochin-China, said to have been sent back with several south-pointing chariots, which, however, do not seem to have been invented until several centuries later. The concluding part of the paper consisted of a review of six ancient trade routes between India and Indo-China with China, and of their respective antiquity down to the beginning of the Christian era. The two most important of these routes were, firstly, one through Assam to India; and secondly, the one to Tong-King by the Red River. It was by the latter of these that the sea traders at Kattigara (Hanoi) heard of the important trading state of Tsen in Yunnan, the name of which became the antecedent of that of *China*.

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India. Later on, the chief object of the Princes of Ts'in, in the fourth century B.C., advancing in Szetchuen, was to get hold of the head of the trade route which the merchants of Shuh used to take westwards on their way to India. The relations between the country of Shuh or Szetchuen and India were sufficient to permit towards the end of the aforesaid century, at Tchengtu, still now the capital city of Szetchuen, the establishment of a dynasty of Indian origin.[1] And it was because the merchants of Shuh stuck to their old prerogatives and refused to let their trade pass into other hands or suffer from competition, that the Chinese ruler, enlightened by the revelations of Tchang kien, endeavoured unsuccessfully towards the end of the second century B.C. to find other routes of communication with India in passing through Yunnan. The trade from China, *i.e.* Szetchuen, to Patna in India, spoken of by Ptolemy, was that very same trade made with the merchants of Shuh which had been in existence for many centuries.

156*c*. Traders cannot do easily without the art of writing, and it is not admissible that the diligent merchants of Shuh, acquainted as they were in this country with writing, should have neglected to make use of it in the interests of their traffic, which it could not fail to help. Therefore, considering that this trade was a regular one, and was in existence for many centuries previous to the time of Açoka, it would be a matter of surprise, with the extension that this trade had obtained unto the north-western provinces of India, that nothing should have been known in India of the writing proper to these merchants. As the reverse is rather incredible, remains of the casual use of this writing would

[1] On this dynasty vid. Yang hiung (B.C. 53–A.D. 18), himself a native of Shuh, who wrote a history of his country, *Shuh wang pen tsi*, in the *Tai ping yü lan* cyclopedia, bk. 166, ff. 3, 10*v*. Many Hindu ideas had penetrated into China about the time of that short-lived dynasty. And to the same time may be reported a curious series of mythological resemblances. The many notions of a fabulous ethnology and natural history which we know from Ctesias, Megasthènes, and others, as Indian, and the existence of similar, sometimes identical, notions in ancient Chinese literature of the same period, especially in the *Shan hai king*, were due, I think, to the marvellous reports made in both countries by these travelling merchants about the intermediary, unknown, and therefore awful regions through which they had to pass during their journey to and fro.

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have been found, should it have been superseded by a more perfected one. And when the time came for the systematization of the Indian writings, it is possible that Palibothra (Patna), where Açoka ruled in his time, and which was an important centre in the country, perhaps because it was the arrival point of the eastern trade, did not put forth the rights which long usage gave to its writing.

I need not enter here into the particulars which the earlier Greek writers on India have given about the narrow knowledge of writing existing in their time, and I shall confine myself to such necessary remarks which have not as yet been put forward. What the writing of the merchants of Shuh was we can easily know. It was simply an adaptation of the Chinese characters to the transcription of foreign words and names. Recent investigations in the history of the writing of the Middle Kingdom have shown that a system of syllabic spelling was mixed up from the beginning with the use of ideograms, and had gradually faded away through the exigencies of the intelligibility required, notwithstanding the regional variations of dialects, though preserved for the transcription of foreign words, and in such parts of the country as those of Ts'i and Shuh, which were inhabited by well-gifted populations. The simplification which the Chinese characters underwent after the time of Confucius could not but be favourable to such a state of things with regard to foreign relations. And tangible proofs of that former state of writing in the country of Shuh are still now found in the two surviving writings of the Lolos[1] and of the Shui-kia tribes,[2] both derived from simplified Chinese characters; these populations belonging, still now in the case of the first, and formerly in the case of the second, to the ancient inhabitants of Szetchuen.

157. Now let us return to what we find in India. The oldest specimens known of the writing are the stone seals

[1] It is not impossible that the writing of the Lolos should have been improved from its former ruder state, under some Buddhist influence, which at a certain early time was rife in the country.

[2] Cf. §§ 176, 227–232, of the present work.

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found at Harappa near Lahore.[1] They belong to the same kind of writing of Chinese derivation[2] which is now represented by the writing of the Lolos. Next to these in point of date are the inscriptions of Açoka, in that writing which is called the Lat Pali, Indo-Pali, or Açoka characters. It rests undoubtedly on a different basis to that of the northern writing or Bactro-Pali of the same period, though the Semitic prejudice put forth since 1856 has led investigators to minimise the differences, and seek for a Semitic source other than for the first. I think that the seals of Harappa, and a better knowledge of the history of writing in the East, cannot fail to dispel the illusion under which many Indianists have laboured in that respect. As a matter of fact, the similarities of shape which have been pointed out between the Sabean characters and the Indo-Pali are insufficient in number[3] to be satisfactory; they do not go much beyond the similarities of the same number which could be pointed out with the Cypriote and other characters. This insufficiency is made up, among the Semitists at any rate, by the supposition that many characters have been developed and varied from the former nucleus. And while admitting the possibility of the case in several instances, which however are not proved, we must state that the others are wholly unjustified. Now for the sake of the south Semitic hypothesis, those who upheld it are compelled to suppose four improbabilities: 1) that the Sabean characters existed a long while previously to the monuments hitherto discovered; 2) that in this earlier period they were framed in the same rigid and square monumental style; 3) that this monumental or lapicide style, which elsewhere is generally used only for inscriptions, was also employed for their current use by the traders who are supposed to have carried it to the Indian coast; and 4) that these merchants, contrary to what experience shows to have been the case elsewhere, would have

[1] Cf. §§ 38 n., and 226.

[2] Cf. the analogy I have shown on the plate of my paper, *On a Lolo Manuscript Written on Satin* (London, 1882, 8vo.).

[3] The number has been eked out with some shapes taken from a writing derived from the Musnad and younger by several centuries.

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preferred this stiff writing to the cursive one which was also employed in their country, as shown by numismatic evidence,[1] and which seems to have had a wide extension. I think that these four questions, which are resolved negatively against the Semitic hypothesis, have a great weight in favour of another solution of the problem by themselves, and also still more when coupled with the remarks above. The Semitic hypothesis, which has lately found some skilful advocates,[2] who have been unable to show any new and satisfactory proofs more convincing than before, is decidedly below the mark, and an ingenious scholar[3] was led by their want of success to start a new theory of his own, which, however, is against the full weight of historical history and palæographical principles.

The systematization of the Indo-Pali alphabet cannot have been made independently of that of the Bactro-Pali, and it is most probable that both took place at one and the same time, as the parallelism of the two shows obvious evidence of a reciprocal influence. And as I have remarked elsewhere, the vocalic notation arose most probably from the habit of making monograms, a Persian contrivance, leading to embodying the vowel characters into a typical consonant, and thus extended to the other consonants.

158. Put face to face one with the other, the lame proposal of a Semitic origin, and the probabilities of an Eastern origin for the groundscript of the Indo-Pali characters,[4] stand no more on one and the same footing; the former hypothesis yields certainly to the latter. The solution of the question is given by palæography, as shown by the seals of Harappa, and the comparative table given on Plate VI., where the characters of Açoka are put in parallel with the *Siao-tchuen*

[1] Cf. § 141, above.

[2] Rev. Dr. Isaac Taylor and Dr. R. N. Cust. Prof. Dr. Bühler, of Vienna, though still in favour of a Semitic origin, has declared himself not satisfied with the supposed proofs hitherto put forward.

[3] Prof. J. Halévy, whose paper has been quoted above, § 111 n.

[4] I have advocated this solution for several years; and before the Royal Asiatic Society, 20 June, 1881, I read a paper *On the Sinico-Indian Origin of the Indo-Páli Characters*, of which I withheld the publication, in the hope that new disclosures would come forward and facilitate the solution of the problem. They have come in favour of my views and against the Semitic theory.

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characters,[1] which I look upon as their antecedents.[2] All this requires to be explained with more length and precision in a special paper.

d) *In Central Asia.*

159. The Tibetan sources record[3] that the writing of Li-yul, otherwise Khotan, was invented by the Arya Vairotchoma, some 165 years after the establishment of the kingdom by Kusthana. And as the date of the latter event is stated to be 234 years after the Nirvāna, which here means the Buddhist era 367 B.C.,[4] the introduction of Indian writing into the Tarym basin occurred not many years (thirty-two) after the Christian era.

When Hiuen Tsang, in the seventh century, went there, he remarked, "their written characters and their mode of forming their sentences resemble the Indian model; the forms of the letters differ somewhat; the differences, however, are slight. The spoken language also differs from that of other countries."[5]

160. At Yarkand, when Sung-yun, the Buddhist missionary, passed there in 519 A.D., the customs and spoken language were like those of the people of Khotan,[6] and the written characters in use were those of the Brahmans. The statement was partly confirmed the following century by Hiuen Tsang, saying, "the letters are the same as those of Khotan, but the spoken language is different."[7]

[1] An apparent objection, which might be put forward, can be easily disposed of. It may be said that the comparatively small number of the Indian characters cannot fail to meet similarities among the many Chinese symbols. Such is not the fact; the Chinese symbols, simple in shape and strokes, are few, and their whole number does not reach a hundred.

[2] The signs are extracted from the *Tchuen tze wei*, and from the *Shwoh wen*, both dictionaries of the writing employed during the centuries immediately preceding the Han period (206 B.C.). They are syllabic, and were pronounced according to the phonetic peculiarities of S.W. China. Some remains of a rude syllabic system are found in some of the Indo-Chinese writings, as well as some of the co-called cerebral series, whose home was in S.W. China and Indo-China, as shown by their great number in the several phonesis of these regions.

[3] Cf. Woodville Rockhill, *The Early History of Li-yul* (*Khoten*) in his learned work, *The Life of the Buddha* (from Tibetan sources), p. 237.

[4] Prof. Rhys Davids, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon* (Appen.); *Buddhism*, p. 213.

[5] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, vol. ii. p. 309.

[6] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, vol. i. p. lxxxix.

[7] *Buddhist Records*, vol. ii. p. 308.

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161. According to Chinese sources, in An-sih, *i.e.* Parthia,[1] about the first century B.C., they used to write on skins [2] in horizontal lines, by which means they kept their records.[3] We know from other sources that this writing was Greek, and recent numismatic research has made it quite evident that the Greek letters and the Greek language were generally understood in Northern India and in Kabul as late as the second century of our era.[4] It was so at least and at first in the Court circles, seeing that the coins of the period are generally bilingual Greek and Bactro-Pali until the time of Kanerkes, circa 75 A.D., one of the Kushan kings of Yueh-ti origin, when the sole writing used in the exergues is a debased Greek.[5]

162. About 478 A.D. the Turks *Kiu-sze* 車師[6] were acquainted with the Chinese characters, and they had a writing of their own. They were then resident in Turfan, on the North-West of China, previous to the Kao-tchang.[7]

163. Sung-yun, the Buddhist missionary, who went to India about 518 A.D., passing west of the Moving sands, meets the *Tuh-Kiueh 'hun*, the Turks Hun, and observes that their written characters were nearly the same as those of the Wei.[8]

The second denomination looks like antagonistic to the first, as it is later on commonly attributed to the Indian or Nagari character. But it is not so in the present occurrence,

[1] So called by the Chinese from its founder Arsakes, B.C. 250, who had established his first citadel at Ασαὰχ (Asak-ābād). On the latter cf. Isidore of Charax, ch. xi. ; *J.R.A.S.* 1871, p. 445.

[2] The Arab historian Masudi (tenth century), in his apparently authentic account of the Zendavesta, states that it was written on 12,000 cowhides, in a character invented by Zartusht (Zoroaster).

[3] *Tsien Han shu*, bk. 96 ; A. Wylie, *Notes on the Western Regions*, in *Jour. Anthrop. Inst.* 1880 ; repr. p. 21.

[4] Prof. Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, p. liii.

[5] On debased Greek characters on Parthian Coins, cf. Edward Thomas, *Parthian and Indo-Sassanian Coins*, p. 9 (repr. *Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1883).

[6] A. L. Davids (*Grammaire Turke*, London, 1836, 4to. p. xii) has remarked that this name resembles that of the *Ghauzz* or *'Duzz* tribe from whom the Osmanlis claim to be the descendants.

[7] Abel Remusat, *Recherches sur les langues Tartares*, in A. L. Davids, *op. cit.* p. xix.

[8] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, vol. i. p. lxxxv, "The written character of the country is nearly the same as that of the Wei."

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inasmuch as the *Hu shu* was indeed the writing used by the Buddhists in some parts of Central Asia, as we shall see below.[1]

164. There are some reasons to believe that the Topa Tartars or Northern Wei, who ruled in the north of China from A.D. 386 to 534, had a writing of their own,[2] at least about A.D. 476–500, under the reign of Wen-ti. And it is probable that this writing was the, or derived from the, Uigur writing.[3]

165. The Chinese annals of the Sui dynasty (581–618 A.D.) contain a special section, presenting a general survey of the existing literature as collected in the Imperial library.[4] The division concerning Buddhism includes some 1950 distinct words. Many of the titles are given, and among them are not a few which treat of the mode of writing by alphabetic symbols used in the kingdoms from whence Buddhism came. The first alphabet that was thus introduced appears to have been one of fourteen symbols. It is called *Si-yü hu shu* "Foreign writing of the Western countries," and also *Po-lo-men-shu* "Brahmanical writing."[5] We know what is the common meaning of the word *hu*, and in this case we are inclined to accept it with its occasional substitution of Uigur. Inasmuch as the number of fourteen is that of the consonants in that writing, which was known to some Arab

[1] Cf. below, §§ 165, 170.

[2] "We cannot speak with certainty," says Mr. A. Wylie (Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. 1860, vol. xvii. p. 333), "in this matter about the achievements of the Topa-Wei Tartars, while they held rule in the northern parts of China, as the Northern Wei dynasty, during the fifth century of the Christian era, though there is ground to believe that they had a particular character for writing their original language. Thus we read in the history of the Suy dynasty (bk. 32, fol. 18) that when the Wei Tartars took possession of Lo-yang, they were unacquainted with the Chinese language; and their Emperor, Wan-te, gave orders to How Fo-how and Ko-Seih-ling to translate the *Hiao King* or 'Book of Filial Piety' into the Court language." In the bibliographical section of the same work (bk. 32, fol. 22) the names of nine other books relative to the language of the people are given. The names of three books on the language of the Sien-pei, a neighbouring tribe, are also preserved in the same place.

[3] Cf. § 120, above.

[4] A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, pp. vii, viii.

[5] J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 112. *Sui shu*, bk. 35.

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historians by this peculiarity,[1] and which was derived from the Syriac.[2]

166. In the same part of the Annals of the Sui dynasty, a Chinese Buddhist missionary in Central Asia, at the time of T'ai Wu Ti (A.D. 424–451) of the Wei dynasty, was taught a writing composed of thirteen characters only.[3]

167. In Tokharistan (Tuholo), about 630 A.D., according to Hiuen Tsang, they possessed extensive literary records.[4] "Their language differs somewhat from that of the other countries. The number of radical letters in their language is twenty-five; by combining these they express all objects around them. Their writing is across the page, and they read from left to right." [5]

At Bâmian, Kapisha, and Shambhi, about the same time, the writing in use was the same as that of the Tuholo.[6]

What this writing was is not clear.[7] The direction from left to right agrees with any Indian writing from the Nagari class, but the number of characters is too small, and Hiuen Tsang would not have failed to indicate the fact of the Indian derivation as he did in other instances. It may have been a writing of special adaptation to the exigencies of the languages by the skilful Buddhist missionaries.[8]

168. At Kashgar (*Kie-sha*), in the seventh century, the written characters were imitated from those of India, and

[1] *Ahmed ben Arabshah*, in his history of Timur. J. Klaproth, *Verzeichniss der Chinesischen und mandchuischen Bücher der Königlichen Bibliotek zu Berlin*, Paris, 1822, fol.

[2] Cf. § 120.

[3] *Sui shu*, bk. 35, fol. 21–22.

[4] Which were reputed to exceed those of Sulek.

[5] Cf. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, vol. i. p. 38.

[6] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 50, 54; vol. ii. p. 296. On the Tuholo, which must be distinguished from the Yueh-ti, cf. S. Beal, *Gleanings from the Si-yu-ki*, p. 253 (*Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* Vol. XVI. 1884). Mr. G. de Vasconcellos-Abreu (*De l'origine probable des Toukhares*, Louvain, 1883) finds in the *Tuholo* the Greek *Teuchri*. Anyhow they were no more there at the time of Hiuen Tsang, who is careful to say that he speaks of the old country of the Tuholo.

[7] M. Gérard de Rialle (*Mémoire sur l'Asie Centrale*, 2nd edit. Paris, 1875, 8vo.) rightly remarked (p. 44) that it could not be the Zend writing, which runs from right to left, but more probably an Indian writing.

[8] The late Mr. Edward Thomas has pointed out Hindi legends on coins of the region. Cf. his papers: *Parthian and Indo-Sassanian Coins*, 1883, p. 24, and he thinks that the debased Southern Hindi characters were those alluded to by Hiuen Tsang. Cf. also from the same scholar, *Indo-Scythian Coins with Hindi Legends* (*Indian Antiquary*, 1883).

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although somewhat mutilated, yet they were essentially the same in form.[1] The statement comes from Hiuen Tsang, who also says that at Och (Usha) and at Khavandha[2] (*K'ie-p'an-to*) the writing was much like that of Kashgar.[3]

In the Tarym basin, coming from China, the same missionary had remarked[4] that, at Akin, Kutche (formerly *Kuei-tze*[5]) and Oksu, the written characters were Indian with some differences.[4] At Kumo, between Kashgar and Kutche, the literature was the same as at the latter place.[5]

e) *The Sulek Writing.*

169. Hiuen Tsang, on his way to Samarkand by a route south of the Tien shan,[6] reached the Su-yep or Tchu river, and there he found a writing differing from those of Indian descent, which he had hitherto described. "From the town of the Su-yep river, as far as the Ki-shwang-na (Kesh)[7] country the land is called Sulek, and the people are called by the same name. The written characters and the spoken language are likewise so called. The primary characters are not many; in the beginning, they were thirty-two[8] in number: the words are composed by the combination of these: these combinations have produced a large and varied vocabulary. They have some literature, which the common sort read together; their mode of writing is handed down from one master to another without interruption, and is thus preserved."[9]

[1] Hiuen Tsang, *circa* 630 A.D. Cf. Beal's *Buddhist Records*, vol. ii. p. 307.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 299, 304.
[3] Otherwise Sarikhul.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 18, 19, 24. In my copy of the *Ta T'ang si yu ki* the words used are 取則印度.
[5] In the Annals of the T'ang dynasty (618-905 A.D.) *Yuen kien lei han*, bk. 237, fol. 12. In 601 one of the two Indian translators in Chinese of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarîka-sûtra* states, in the Preface, that he has seen two texts of the work; one written on the palm leaves (from India), and the other in the letters of *Kwei-tze*. Cf. Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, p. 46.
[6] Cf. E. Bretschneider, *Notices of the Mediæval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia* (London, 1876, 8vo.), p. 36, n. 57.
[7] South of Samarkand.
[8] Beal translates 'thirty or so'; Julien, in another edition, *thirty-two*. My copy has *san shih yü*, 'thirty and odd.'
[9] Cf. Beal's *Buddhist Records*, vol. i. p. 27.

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170. The Annals of the T'ang dynasty state that the Sulek have *Hu* books and written characters.[1] *Hu* as a designation is not sufficient; it is a vague expression often met with in Chinese literature, the populations of Central Asia or that which belongs to them in contradistinction to the Hindu, Tibetan, etc. It sometimes applies to the Uigur. In the present instance the number of primary characters of the Sulek writing makes it impossible for it to be Uigur; and should it have been originally Indian, the derivation must have been very remote, since Hiuen Tsang was unable to detect it. We can trust to a certain extent the capability of discrimination of the Buddhist monk, as on other occasions he shows that he knew the distinction between some classes of writing. For instance, he tells us that the writing of Shagnan, north of Badakshan, was the same as that of the Turks, but that the spoken language was different.[2] When he comes to Persia, he states that the writing and language were different from that of other countries.[3] There are therefore strong probabilities that the *Sulek* writing was a special system of its own, and we can call to aid some recent disclosures in numismatics.

171. There are strong reasons for believing the *Sulek* writing of the Buddhist Monk to be that writing which M. Pierre Lerch, of St. Petersburg, has proposed to call Soghdian. It has been hitherto found on a few coins dug out from the region of Bukhara and Samarkand, consequently close to the Sulek region. These coins, which have been identified with the *ghitrifis* of the Bukhar-Khudahs, or Princes of Bukhara, before the Maverennah or Transoxian conquest by the Arabs, are bilingual.[4] They bear on the obverse a double legend in Cufic and in unknown characters. The latter have been examined by the late Edward Thomas, who has recognized that they rest on a Semitic basis, and they must be read from

[1] *Tai Ping yü len*, bk. 793, f. 3.
[2] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, vol. ii. p. 296.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 278.
[4] *Sur les Monnaies des Boukhâr-Khoudahs ou Princes de Boukhara, avant la conquête der Mavarennahr par les Arabes*, by Pierre Lerch, pp. 419–429, of *Travaux du troisieme Congrès des Orientalistes*, St. Petersburg, 1876, vol. ii.

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right to left.[1] He pointed out some Phœnician, and also some Syrian, affinities, without, however, arriving at any conclusion.[2]

172. Should the Sulek and Soghdian writings be one and the same, as there is good reason to suppose, from their region and period, the number of thirty-two in the number of the primary characters precludes the possibility of a direct derivation from the Semitic stem, where that number is about twenty all told. But I am strongly of opinion that the Sulek writing, of which we know now this name to be its real appellation, was a descendent from the Indo-Bactrian. The number of characters in the latter is thirty-two, as in Sulek; the reading in both is from right to left, and besides the general Semitic likeness, there are some peculiar affinities of shape between the two. If my conclusions prove to be true, it will open a new page in the history of this northern writing of Açôka, which was supposed to have disappeared without progeny in the second century A.D.

173. At Tenghi-Saulék, in Khuzistan or ancient Susiana, the late Baron C. A. de Bode found, in 1841, three rock-inscriptions, which are still undeciphered.[3] They seem to belong to a Semitic source, but their direct parentage is not apparent, though their time may be the Sassanian period. They are related rather closely to the Indo-Bactrian, of which they bear the appearance of a debased derivate, and on the other hand, there is no less a resemblance to the Sulek-Soghdian writing. A similar writing is that which occurs on a few cylindrical seals still unclassified, and often mixed up with the Assyro-Babylonian series.[4]

[1] *Bilingual Coins of Bokhara* (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881, vol. i. pp. 116–128).

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 9–10. The continuous line so characteristic of the Syro-Nestorian writing is there absent. It seems to me that a somewhat similar writing is that of the legend engraved around a silver cup found in Ancient Soghdiana, and now in the British Museum, from the hands of Princess Gagarina. This cup has been published by Mr. Ch. de Linas, *Les origines de l'orfévrerie cloisonnée*, Paris, 1878, vol. ii. pl. 359.

[3] *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan* (London, 1845, 2 vols. 8vo.), vol. i. pp. 353–363, and plate. The inscriptions were also published by M. Eugène Boré, a friend and co-traveller of Baron de Bode, in his *Lettre sur quelques Antiquités de la Perse* (*Journal Asiatique*, Avril, 1842), pp. 327–335.

[4] The similarity has been pointed out to me by Prof. A. H. Sayce, 27 March, 1882. Five of these were published by the late Dr. Mordtmann, in the Z.D.M.G.

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174. Ancient Chinese numismatists were acquainted with some specimens of the mintage[1] of the *Okto* country 屋耽國. These are described as having the usual round shape and central square hole of the Chinese money. The legend, it is said, was in characters like the *Fan shu* or Indian writing. In later works of the same class, the Okto coins are figured with four characters disposed like the Chinese; but these characters cannot be recognized on these woodcuts, as they are made of lines and scrolls which cannot be trusted more than what they are, namely, an imitation by ignorant hand of an unknown writing. In their general outlines these pieces of money are said to be similar to some other ones with signs of the same kind said to be from Tibet.[2] Therefore we may expect that some archæological finds, one day or other, will show up some specimens of this unknown writing.

Okto is said to be the same as *Fuht'o* 伏陀, near Tibet, by the authors of the *Kin ting tsien luh*, and attributed to the period of the Tang dynasty. This identification seems rather doubtful, as we do not know any country with a similarly written name, and, besides, this is the usual rendering of the Sanskrit *Veda*.[3] But it may be a variant of another name such as *Okta* 烏托, a country lying west of Tibet in the Tsung ling mountains, and corresponds perhaps to the modern *Oktash*.[4]

f) *In S.W. Asia.*

175. The Peh-y or Chinese Shans in the S.W. of the Middle Kingdom, and outside its borders, have two writings, according to their geographical location. Those of their

for 1877. Another is in my hands, and was seen by Prof. A. H. Sayce, who wrote to me (30 March, 1882), "the alphabet is plainly Aramaïc, and seems to stand midway between those of Tenghi's Saulek and Abushadr.

[1] First described by Siu she in his *Tsien pu*, a book now lost.

[2] *Kin ting tsien luh*, 1750, bk. 14, f. 6. *Tsuen shi*, 1834, bk. 14, f. 13. *Wai kwoh tsien wen*, f. 5*r*. *Ki kin so kien luh*, bk. 13, f. 9.

[3] Dr. Eitel, *Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary*, s.v. Veda.

[4] *Han Shu*, in *Tai ping yü lan* cyclopedia, bk. 798, f. 8*v*. Cf. also T. Watters, *Fa Huen and his English Translators*, 1879. Another name for Okta was *Yu-hui* 於摩 mentioned in Fa-hien. Cf. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records* (London, 1885), vol. i. introd. p. xiv.

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tribes in proximity to Burma employ the Burmese characters. The others more northwards have an altogether different writing, of which several specimens have reached Europe. One of these appears in the shape of a vocabulary[1] published in China, in 1696, and is part of a collection[2] of eight languages[3] compiled by order of the Emperor Kao Tsung Shun (Kien-lung). The *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris possesses a copy of this work, sent over by the celebrated Jesuit missionary Père Amiot, who has written with his own hand the translation and pronunciation of these vocabularies according to the Chinese renderings. The British Museum has lately acquired a valuable MS. in this writing on thin slips of wood about one foot in length,[4] between boards made from the bark of a tree.

176. A new writing has come to light from S.W. China. It is that of the *Shui-kia* or *Pu-shui*,[5] a Shan tribe of S.W. Kueitchou. Mr. Bourne, H. B. M.'s Consul at Tchung-King in Sze-tchuen, has presented to the British Museum (October, 1886) a manuscript on paper (4to. size), covering thirteen folios, from this tribe. The characters are plainly adaptations and contracted forms of ancient Chinese symbols mixed with non-Chinese pictorial signs. The work seems to be on divination (or calendaric prognostics), the sentences for the most part concluding with words indicating good fortune or the reverse. The months and cyclical characters are sufficiently allied to the ancient Chinese to be legible.[6]

[1] The teaching of the Peh-y and Pa-peh languages had been established at the Translatorial Office in 1644. Cf. above, § 109, n. 5.

[2] On which cf. J. P. Abel Remusat, *De l'étude des langues étrangères chez les Chinois*, in *Magasin Encyclopedique*, Octobre, 1811, Paris, 8vo.

[3] The eight languages are the following: 1) *Huei-huei* or Persian; 2) *Si-fan* or Tibetan; 3) *Uigur* or Turk; 4) *Mien-tien* or Burmese; 5) *Sien-lo* or Siamese; 6) *Peh y* or Shan of Yunnan; 7) *Pu-peh-tsi-fu* or Shan of N.W. Burmah; 8) *Si-tien* or Sanskrit.

[4] M. G. Deveria tells me that he will publish in his work *La frontière Sino-Annamite*, a facsimile of a Peh-y letter.

[5] *Shui-kia* or 'water people,' so called from their dwelling on the banks of rivers. *Pu-shui* is obviously another form, a Shan one of the same name, and meaning 'people of the water'; *pu* is a frequently-used segregative prefix for human beings among these tribes of the Taï-shan stock in China.

[6] Note from Prof. R. K. Douglas.

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The *Shui-kia*[1] is one of the 82 tribes of Kueitchou, of which short descriptions and rude figures are given in the illustrated albums[2] which the Chinese are in the habit of making on these remnants of the former population of their country. They belong to the race, famous in the Chinese annals from the outset, of Pêng, otherwise Panhu, which inhabited Central China. Gradually driven southwards, those of its descendants who had refused to be absorbed among the Chinese, or had not migrated away, had taken refuge in the mountains, such as Meiling, the Wuki, etc. The Shui-kia were one of the tribes who had established themselves in the N. W. corner of the Kuangtung province, from which location they were driven back in 1732 A.D. to the province of Kueitchou, in the prefecture of Tu-yün, district of Li-po,[3] with several others. Nothing is said, in various Chinese documents we have consulted, of their having had a writing of their own, and the reverse seems to be the case with a sister-tribe, the *Tung kia miao*,[4] who are distinctly said to be ignorant of the art of writing, though reading the Chinese characters, and able only to make notched sticks.[5] But the finding of manuscripts in a writing cognate with that of the Chinese agrees with the statements concerning other tribes of the same parentage and race, formerly an important people, that of the *Yao jen*.[6] They were driven back in 1732 from the

[1] Their name is written 水 家 苗 *Shui kia miao.*

[2] The copying of these illustrated albums is a matter of trade carried on in a special street of Peking. The most common is that concerning these 82 tribes; the copies are more or less elaborate in design and length of description according to the sale price. I have seen about fifteen such copies. An album containing 108! tribes of Yunnan is not in great demand, as I know of only one copy, which belongs to Dr. William Lockhart, formerly of Peking. This same learned friend has also a large album of the same kind on the tribes of Taiwan or Formosa, of which I have never met another copy.

[3] *Miao man hoh tchi*, bk. 4, f. 14; vid. also E. C. Bridgman, *Sketches of the Miautze*, No. 15 (*Journ. North China Branch R.A.S.* 1859).

[4] Written 峒 家 苗 *Tung kia miao*; *Tung* means here inhabiting caves, like *Shui* in the other name suggests their location along streams and rivers. The names therefore are no tribal appellatives, and the difference between them is at the minimum.

[5] Cf. § 26 above. The Shui kia miao, Tung kiao miao, and Yao jen, all venerate their ancestor Pan-hu.

[6] 猺 人. It is plainly stated by Min Siü, an officer of high rank in Kwang-si, about 1655, who had therefore a good opportunity of knowing, that the

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north of Kuangsi to their present quarters in Kueitchou.[1] They are reported to be in possession of heirlooms in the shape of books, which they call *Pang-pu*,[2] and also round seals, written like the books, in the *tchuen* (or ancient Chinese seal character) style of writing, which they cannot understand, and preserve with reverence.[3] It is certainly a specimen of these books and writing which fortunately has reached the British Museum, as reported above.

177. It was known from the reports of former travellers, that some native tribes on the west of Tung King had a writing of their own, composed of about thirty-six characters. It is probably that which has lately been disclosed through the exertions of Capt. J. Silvestre, of the French administration there. He has published[4] an alphabet of thirty-five characters used by the *Chau Lao* of the province of Húng Hoâ. This alphabet seems particularly interesting to study, as it differs largely from the other Shan and Lao writings.[5] It is apparently derived from the Siamese, as shown, for instance, by the characteristic forms of the *m* and *n*, the numerous vocalic diacritical marks, and the larger number of letters.

178. The Karens of Burma have been given a writing adapted from the Burmese alphabet by the Rev. T. Wade in 1832. A somewhat similar and unsuccessful attempt had

Shui tribe belonged to the Yao jen stock. Compare his *Yueh Shuh*, fol. 28, in the *Shwoh ling* collection, bk. 20.

[1] *Miao man hoh tchi*, bk. 4, f. 148. At Kueiting, in the prefecture of Kueiyang, and Tsing ping and Tuh shan, in the prefecture of Tu-yün.

[2] These words being non-Chinese, are variously written in the several texts I have seen.

[3] *Miao man hoh tchi*, bk. 4, f. 14. Cf. also J. M. H. Playfair, *The Miaotzu of Kueichou and Yunnan*, from Chinese *descriptions* (42 short notices), No. 41. George W. Clarke, *Translation of a manuscript account of the Kwei chau Miaotzu*, written after the subjugation of the Miaotzu, about 1730, No. 36 (Append. to A. R. Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shans*). There are many traditions, in some six different places, of books hidden since antiquity in caves of the country, in Kweitchou. Cf. for instance Hiü Tsuan tseng, *Tung hwan ki tch'eng*, f. 51 (*Shwoh ling* collection, bk. 17).

[4] *Note sur les Chau Lao du Tonkin* (*Excursions et Reconnaissances*, Saigon), Mars–Avril, 1886, pp. 169–172, by Mr. J. Silvestre, who has made himself already known by two valuable articles on *Les monnaies et médailles de l'Annam et de la Cochinchine*, published in the same collection.

[5] A small vocabulary of about 35 words, contained in Capt. Silvestre's paper, shows the language of the Chau Lao to be a Shan dialect.

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been made earlier in this century by Romish missionaries.[1] But it is not unlikely that in former times they were acquainted with the art of writing derived from Tsiampa. They have some curious traditions about the loss of one-sided characters,[2] and an inscription on a plate of metal, undecipherable now by the Karens themselves, has been dug out in their country.[3] It seems connected with the Tsiampa writing, whose general appearance answers pretty well to the traditional description. The legend is peculiar and widely diffused. One version among the Karens proper is that they had formerly a book written on skin; a hog tore it into fragments, which were afterwards picked up by fowls. Another version says that a dog ran away with the skin-book which he lost, and before it could be recovered, a fowl scratched out the characters inscribed thereon. The Red Karens have also a tradition of a precious book formerly in their possession. Among the Khyengs,[4] they say that the book of the law "was eaten up by some irreverent dog in a moment of dire hunger." The Kakhyens[5] have the tradition that formerly they had books written on buffalo skins which were eaten during a period of famine. A more precise form of the tradition, curiously enough, exists in the Malay peninsula among the Samang negrito tribes. They say that they had (twelfth century) a relic of their former books in the shape of a lizard-skin covered with writing, which could be no longer read by anybody, and which eventually was destroyed by a dog.

g) *In Indonesia, the Islands, etc.*

179. In the Maldive Islands there are three writings: (*a*) The modern or *Gabah Tana*, in eighteen characters,

[1] Dr. Forchhammer, *Notes on the Languages and Dialects spoken in British Burma* (Rangoon, 1884, 8vo.), p. 16.

[2] Vid. on this subject my work on *The Science of Language with reference to S. E. Asia*, where all the sources are given.

[3] It has been published by Dr. Nathaniel Brown, in a rather out-of-the-way place, namely in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1879, vol. vii. pp. 127–130, *On a Karen Inscription*, with plate.

[4] C. B. Lacey, *The Chyins*, in *Our Review* of Rangoon.

[5] Cf. above, §§ 5 and 72, where it is shown that if they had once a writing, they have not forgotten all about it.

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written from the right hand and from right to left,[1] which was introduced when the Portuguese garrison was overcome, and Muhammadanism re-established by a chief and men from the Northern Atolls, is now used throughout the island. (*b*). The Arabic, in which are written most of the inscriptions. (*c*). The most ancient, called by the natives *Dewehi Hakura* (letters of the gods?), which apparently were used by the first inhabitants, but now the knowledge of them is nearly lost, being confined to a few individuals. In the Southern Atolls a knowledge of this writing has been retained longer, for it is not remembered in the Northern ones at all, whereas orders are now written at Walé in this character for the inhabitants of the South Atolls. No old manuscripts with this character are preserved. One peculiarity of the alphabet is that some of the consonants change their form according to the various vowel-sounds with which they are united, the construction of the letter being altogether different *in appearance*.[2] They were seventeen in number and were written with the left hand and from left to right. Mr. A. Gray, in 1868, has shown in a comparative table that they are derived from the Sinhalese writing current in the twelfth century, and this agrees with the records stating that the islands were colonized from Ceylon circa 1200 A.D.

180. On a former writing of Borneo,[3] the Chinese records of 977 A.D. give the following information. It is about a letter written by the native king, Hiangta, of Pu-ni (Western coast of Borneo), to the Chinese ruler. "The letter was enclosed in different small bags, which were sealed, and it was not written on Chinese paper, but on what looked like

[1] It is unique among alphabets in its method of formation, consisting the first nine, as Prinsep acutely suggested, of the Gobar or Arabic cyphers with phonetic values assigned to them. The other nine letters, which have not hitherto been explained, seem to be, according to the Rev. Isaac Taylor (*The Alphabet*, vol. ii. p. 358), the old Telugu-Canarese numerals, used in like manner as substitutes for letters.

[2] Cf. A. Gray, *The Maldive Islands*, with a Vocabulary taken from François Pyrard de Laval, 1602–1607 (*Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1878, Vol. X. pp. 173–209). Vid. also Christopher, *Trans. Bombay Geogr. Soc.* vol. i., and *J.R.A.S.* o.s. Vol. VI. A. d'Abbadie, *Jour. Indian Archipelago*, 1857, etc.

[3] The vase and its inscription mentioned above is published in the splendid work of Dr. A. B. Meyer, *Alterthümer aus dem ostindischen Archipel* (Leipzig, 1884, fol.), p. 7, and pl. xi. fig. 4. Cf. § 39, above.

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very thin bark of a tree; it was glossy, slightly green, several feet long and somewhat broader than one inch, and rolled up so tightly that it could be taken within the hand. The characters in which it was written were small and had to be read horizontally."[1]

181. There are a few other passing notices in the geographical literature of China about writing in the Indian Archipelago in ancient times, which it may be useful to collect here as materials for further research.

At Kaling, a part of Java, about 647 A.D., "they have letters and know a little of astronomy."[2]

From Djavada,[3] a part of Java, in 435 A.D., "the King sends an envoy to present *a letter* and some presents."[4]

At Dvapatan or Bali, in 647 A.D., "they have letters which they write on *patra*-leaves."[5]

In the kingdom of San-bo-tsai (E. coast of Sumatra), about 977 A.D., "they write with Indian characters, and the King uses his ring as a seal: they know, also, Chinese characters, and when presenting letters with tribute they make use of them"[6]

At Malacca, in 1537, "they write with Indian letters";[7] at Johore, about the same time, "they write on *Kadjang* leaves, tracing the letters with a knife."[8]

182. Amongst the splendid collection[9] of printing types of the *K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei* in Vienna is a Formosan alphabet, composed of seventeen letters, with five variants, and about whose genuineness doubts are permitted. I learn that these twenty-two characters have been cut specially for the *Auers'sche Vaterunser-Sammlung*, which this

[1] *Sung she*, bk. 489. W. P. Grœneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese Sources*, p. 109.
[2] *Yavadi* of Fa-hien.
[3] *Sung shu* (420–478 A.D.), bk. 97; Grœneveldt, *ibid.* p. 9.
[4] *K'u T'ang shu*, bk. 197; Grœneveldt, *ibid.* p. 12.
[5] *K'u T'ang shu*, bk. 197; Grœneveldt, *ibid.* p. 58.
[6] *Sung she*, bk. 489; Grœneveldt, *ibid.* p. 53.
[7] *Hai yü*, by Hwang Tchung, in 1537; Grœneveldt, *ibid.* p. 127.
[8] *Ming she*, bk. 325; Grœneveldt, *ibid.* p. 135. On Kadjang "palm leaves," vid. Col. H. Yule's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words*, p. 107, v. *Cadjan*.
[9] *Alfabete des Gesammten Erdkreises aus der K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei in Wien*, 2te auflage, Wien, 1876, 4to.

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celebrated establishment printed in 1847; and that the *Pater* in Formosan inserted in this work was reproduced from the *Vaterunser-Sammlung* of Benjamin Schulze, published at Leipzig a century earlier (1748). Now this alphabet and its variants is that which was published by Psalmanazar[1] in his well-known fictitious *Description of Formosa* in 1704. But I cannot trace it further back. Psalmanazar has given a translation of the *Pater* in his work, but it is not that which has appeared in Schulze's collection, as it is written in Roman characters. Besides that, the translation of Psalmanazar has a spurious appearance, though it is visible by the small vocabulary and the numerals of the language contained in his book, that he had come across some genuine data of Portuguese origin[2]

183. Therefore the authorship of this alphabet is not the work of this once famous forgerer, and several features of these characters suggest an Indian derivation. On the MSS. recently received from Formosa and mentioned above, some native witnesses and parties to contracts have appended some isolated signs next to their names, written by the scribes in the Roman and Chinese characters. I had some hope that these various signs might prove related to this writing, but a close examination has convinced me that they have no regular connection as characters of a writing would have with the written names, and also that they are not connected with the alphabet here in consideration. We leave the question unsolved, and we hope that further research in the island will help to the solution.

184. During their establishment in the west of Formosa, from 1622 to 1662 A.D., the Dutch taught the native tribes with whom they came into contact the use of their writing. After their expulsion by Koxinga, the knowledge they had imparted did not disappear for a long time. The use of the Roman writing was transmitted from father to son, and preserved for the redaction of documents of importance, as late as 1796; but since that time it has gradually died away.

[1] *Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa*, 1704, 8vo.
[2] I have shown this to be a fact in my *Notes* above quoted.

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Ancient contracts are still preciously kept among families, written in the forgotten writing, some of which with a Chinese lateral translation, but all knowledge of that writing, as well as of the native dialects in which they were written, is forgotten.[1] Twenty-one of such MSS. have been seen there by a recent traveller. Some of them reached Europe; two were presented to the British Museum in 1876, and nine have been sent this year to the President of the Royal Asiatic Society.[2]

185. Some unknown inscriptions on rocks are reported to be in existence in the Fiji Islands. Mr. Montague C. Johnstone, who resided in the Archipelago for several years, has stated to me that he had heard from white settlers of inscriptions near the native town of Nabutautau in the interior of the island of Viti-Levu, the largest of the group. It would be interesting to have copies or better rubbings, if possible, of these inscriptions. They might prove an intermediary station on their way eastwards of the writers of the Easter Island Inscriptions,[3] as this would agree with some of the traditions of the present people. In Celebes, Borneo, New Zealand, traces have already been found of writings derived from South India.

[1] It is probable that it disappeared gradually, as some imperfect copies, such as would be attempts at copying an unknown writing, are met with in the island.

[2] Through the exertions of our friend E. Colborn Baber. See my *Notes on the Writings, Languages, and Races of Formosa*, in *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* Vol. XIX. 1887.

[3] Cf. above, §§ 41, 42, 43, and below, §§ 233, 234.

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PART III.

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VIII. Some more Facts (Supplement).

186. Pictures and paintings, always sketched,[1] drawn sometimes with great skill, though the work of non-civilized tribes, are found from all times and in all countries. In North-Western Australia curious cave-paintings were discovered by Sir George Grey, and representations of animals were met with in Clark's Island by Capt. King.[2] In the Nicobar Islands, the *hanta koi*, or votive plate, represents men, birds, fishes, and objects whose symbolical value cannot be understood without a knowledge of the local mythology and customs.[3]

In South Africa, caves formerly occupied by the Bosjesmans exhibit some drawings of men and animals most accurately drawn,[4] but exclusively pictures, inasmuch as certain signs accompany them occasionally.[5]

187. Picture-writing[6] differs from picturing from the fact that it aims to convey to the mind, not a representation of an event, but a narrative of the event in words, each word being pictured.[7] The distinction is important, for the change from one system to the other implies an immense progress in the art of perpetuating or transmitting thought. For instance, let us take a sentence and see how it might be conveyed by the two methods. *A man slew a lion with a bow and arrows while the sun went down.* Picturing would show the man with a drawn bow in his hand, the lion struck by the arrow, the sun on the horizon. Picture-writing would

[1] Cf. R. Menard, *Histoire des beaux-arts*, Paris, 8vo.

[2] William Howitt, *History of Discovery in Australia*, vol. i. pp. 261, 367.

[3] Cf. plate, p. 215, in F. A. de Roepstorff, *A Dictionary of the Nancowry Dialect of the Nicobar Language* (Calcutta, 1884, 8vo.). The most curious portion of the *hanta koi* there figured is the *dance of fishes*, which reminds me of a similar fragment apparently introduced in the text of one of the Easter Island inscriptions, and accurately pointed out by Mr. Park Harrison.

[4] Mark Hutchinson, *Notes on a Collection of Facsimiles of Bushmen Drawings*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xii. p. 464. E. Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, vol. ii. p. 438. Fleming, *Southern Africa*, p. 184.

[5] See below, § 206.

[6] On which see W. J. Hoffmann, *Comparison of Eskimo Pictographs with those of other American Aborigines*, in *Trans. Anthrop. Soc.*, Washington, 1883, vol. ii. pp. 128–146.

[7] C. F. Keary, *The Dawn of History*, p. 185.

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present a series of little pictures and symbols dealing separately [1] with each object and phenomenon. A man, a symbol for slew, say a hand smiting, a bow and arrow, a lion, and so on.

188. Picture-writings are found everywhere. The bark of trees, tablets of wood, the skins of animals, bones, or ivory, and the surfaces of rocks, were all used for this purpose. Many of these pictographs are simply pictures; others, we know, were intended to commemorate events or to represent other ideas. To a large extent many are simply mnemonic, and to some slight extent pictographs are found with characters more or less conventional; these pictographs exhibit the beginning of written language and the beginning of pictorial, yet undifferentiated." [2]

189. The pictographs of the Eskimos and Ojibways, those found in the Erie Lake region, in the Utah territory, in New Mexico, in Peru, as well as the writing of the Aymaras, in Peru, are combinations of figures and symbolic signs. The modern ideographs of the Mikmaks are a curious instance, more symbolic than pictorial. But the Mexican writing and that of Yukatan [3] are regularly evolved writings from a hieroglyphical basis, apparently with the help of foreign influence.

190. A number of bronze medals of rude workmanship, formerly cast in Java, are entitled to an entry in this systematized enumeration.[4] They represent pictures and objects chiefly symbolical, and are still undeciphered. These are said to be allusions to scenes of Hindu dramas, and their purpose and date of issue are supposed to be hidden in the rebus displayed by the symbols figured thereon.

[1] *The Dawn of History*, ibid.

[2] Cf. J. W. Powell, *On Limitation to the Use of some Anthropological Data*, in *Bureau of Ethnology*, *First Annual Report* (Washington, 1881, 8vo.), pp. 71–86; in F. Techmer's *Internationale Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. i. p. 479.

[3] Facsimiles of these Erie, Utah, New Mexico, Peru, and Aymara rude writings are given in Faulmann's *Illustrirte Geschichte der Schrift* (Wien, 1880, 8vo.), a work valuable for its illustrations, and unscientific for its explanations and theories. The ideographs of the Mikmaks as well as the writings of Mexico and Yucatan, are also exemplified in this work.

[4] Many are represented in the plates of De Chij, Munzt v. Nederland Ind.

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191. In connection with picture-writing, we must here mention tattooing,[1] which stands on the confines of pictorial ornamentation. Dr. Heinrich Wuttke, in his laborious work on the origin of writing, has paid great attention to it,[2] so that we need not here insist on the matter. In a more recent work, Dr. Laccassagne[3] has pointed out "the striking resemblance between the grafitti or picture-writings, and the general style of design of the tattooers; in other respects a similarity is to be observed. Both tattooing and picture-writing are ideographic, expressing a thought by an image or a symbol. Some of these designs are phonetic, and rebuses are common to them both."[4]

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192. Gesture language stands on the threshold of picture- and sign-writing, as it consists chiefly of successive and transient delineation of objects, phenomena and symbols. Sign languages have been found in use among the Eskimos, Australians, Bosjesmans, Begers of the Sudan, and others, as a help to the spoken language.[5] Their comparative study with reference to that of the untaught deaf-mutes is very promising, but little has been done hitherto in that respect, and only a few articles have lately started this branch of enquiry.

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193. There is in Chinese literature another instance of inscribed stone besides that recorded above; but the state-

[1] Tattooing has been carefully described by my friend Dr. Berchon of Pauillac in his important *Histoire médicale de Tatouage* (Paris, 1869, 8vo.): "Tattooing is that strange and very ancient custom which consists in the introduction under the cutaneous epidermis, at different depths, of colouring matter, in order to produce some design which will be of very long duration, though it is not absolutely indelible." The operation of tattooing is made by pricking, incising, or burning.

[2] *Die Entstehung der Schrift*, vol. i. pp. 79–140.

[3] *Les Tatouages; étude anthropologique et médico-légale*, Paris, 1881.

[4] R. Fletcher, *Tattooing among Civilized People*, in *Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington*, vol. ii. 1883, 8vo.

[5] Col. Garrick Mallery, *Sign Language among North American Indians compared with that among other Peoples and Deaf-Mutes*, in *Bureau of Ethnology* (*First Annual Report*, 1881), pp. 544–552, 387–395. And from the same author, *Sign-Language*, pp. 193–210, of Techmer's *Intern. Zeitschrift*, vol. i. 1884. G. Gerland, *Die Zeichensprache der Indianer*, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. iv. 1883, pp. 258–272.

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ment is not deserving of the same confidence. It is recorded in the *Wei-lio*,[1] where we read: "In the Lin valley of Liang-tchou was a stone, which once slipped without apparent cause; it bore marks intended to represent a horse."[2] There was a Liang-tchou in the N. E. of Honan when the *Wei-lio* was compiled, and thus far the above fact could match with the other instance in Shantung, and be looked upon as two archæological remnants of native art of the former population. On the other hand, the Lin valley is explained in the K'ang-hi dictionary as situated in the west of China, where the sun is observed to set; in which case the Liang-tchou would be the old division of the same name at the time of the Great Yü, comprising parts of Sze-tchuen, Hupeh, Kansuh and Shensi.[3]

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194. About 1295 Toktai, a Kipchak prince, sent a symbolic declaration of war to Noghai, one of the most influential of the Mongol princes. It consisted of a hoe, an arrow, and a handful of earth, which Noghai interpreted as follows: "If you hide in the earth, I will dig you out! If you rise to the heavens, I will shoot you down! choose a battle-field!"

195. Again, more than 500 years after Noghai and Toktai were laid in the steppe, when Mouravieff reached the court of

[1] The *Wei-lio* is an uncritical work, purporting to be an "Abridged History of the Wei Dynasty" (220–264 A.D.), which must have been compiled before A.D. 429, the date of another work where it is quoted. It contains a short section about foreign countries, which is full of egregious blunders; the author being satisfied with compiling together, on the mere assumption of a similarity or quasi-similarity of names, statements from previous works, with a complete disregard of chronology and geography. And as his work has been pilfered verbatim by subsequent authors, according to the usual mosaic-like process of Chinese composition, his mistakes have found their way through the whole geographical literature of China. As an interesting instance I may quote the misadventure which has happened to Dr. F. Hirth, who has failed to recognize these mistakes in his otherwise meritorious work on *China and the Roman Orient* (1885, 8vo.). The author of the *Wei-lio* inserted under the name of *Ta Ts'in* some statements taken verbatim from the old *Shan haï king*, concerning the great state of Ts'in in N.W. China during the period of the contending states (481–255 B.C.), and he mixed into his description some statements about the southern old route of trade to Indo-China. The Wei-lio's notice was reproduced in the *Hou Han shu* and subsequent works, and thus Dr. Hirth was misled into making many wrong geographical identifications.

[2] *Tai ping yü lan*, bk. 51, f. 2*v*.

[3] *K'ang-hi tze-tien*, s.v. 柳.

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Khiva in 1820, it happened that among the Russian presents offered to the Khan were two loaves of sugar on the same tray with a quantity of powder and shot. The Uzbegs interpreted this as a symbolical demand: Peace or war?[1]

196. Among the Kols of Central India an arrow passed from village to village is the summons to arm, and sent to any one in authority, it is an open declaration of war.[2]

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197. Some interesting specimens of correspondence by means of symbols strung together[3] have just come to me from the Yebu tribe on the west coast of Africa. They were contributed to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in 1886 at South Kensington, by Mr. J. A. Otambu Payne, of Lagos, West Africa,[4] a nephew of the King of Yebu.

They were nine in number, and called each of them "*Aroko*,[5] or African symbolical letter, as used by the tribes in West African countries in the interior of Lagos, viz. Jebu, Egb-a, Itadau, Oyo, and other parts of the Yoruba country."

198. I. Letter from a native Prince of Jẹbu Ode to his brother residing abroad.

(Six cowries, the eyes upwards, strung on the stem of a white feather folded in two; the feathered half is attached by a knot of straw between the third and fourth cowry.)

Ẹ̀FÀ[6] *yi ni mo fi fà*[6] *ọ mọra, ki 'wọ nor sì fà mọ mi girigiri.*

[1] *V. en Turcomania*, p. 165; Col. H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 2nd edit. vol. ii. pp. 499-500.

[2] Edw. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 171 n.

[3] Cf. above, § 5, on "Objects fastened on sticks or strings."

[4] Mr. J. A. O. Payne has sent them to Dr. R. N. Cust, who kindly lent them to me (Nov. 6, 1886). The specimens are accompanied, each of them, by a printed sheet giving their meaning in the native language, with an English translation and occasional notes. I reproduce all these informations, with descriptions, as documents. The symbols themselves will be lithographed and published by Mr. J. A. O. Payne in his Almanack of Lagos. I am indebted to Mr. J. A. O. P. for some additional information embodied in the following notes.

[5] *Aroko* means 'to convey news,' and is applied to the mode of conveying thought.

[6] *Ẹ̀-fà* (the name expressive of the number *six*) is from the *verb to draw*.—J. A. O. P.

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'By this six cowries I do draw you to myself, and you should also draw closely to me.'

IYẸ[1] *yi ni wo fi*[1] *nreti, ni kankanṣì ni ki nri ọ.* 'As by this feather I can only reach to your ears, so I am expecting you to come to me, or hoping to see you immediately.

199. II. Letter from a native General of the Jẹbu force, to a native Prince abroad.

(A knot of straw; six cowries by pairs lengthwise, the eyes face to face, the splitted straw intercrossing; a knot; the straws plaited on 8½ inch in length. Total length 11½ inches.)

Bi ọnà to wà lãrin wa tilẹ̀ jùr[2] *pupọ̀-pupọ̀, sibẹ̀sibè mo fà ọ m ra, mo sì doju kọ ọ. Bẹ̃ ni mo fẹ ki o doju kọ mi ko sì fà mọ mi.* 'Although the road between us both may be very long, yet I draw you to myself, and set my face towards you. So I desire you to set your face towards me, and draw to me.'

200. III. Letter from a native Prince of Jẹbu Ode, to one of his cousins abroad.

(A knot of flat straw; two cowries the eyes upwards; the straw split in two intercrosses through two cowries lengthwise, the eyes face to face; two cowries the eyes upwards; the two parts of the straw plaited on 2½ inch. length. Total length 5 inches.[3])

Lãrim ọpọ̀lọ̀pọ mia, niwá lẹhin, a kò lò ṣaì mọ̀ ara ẹni; bi o ti mọ̀ mi, ti mo sì mọ̀ ọ, jẹ ka doju kọ 'ra wa, ka gb'ara wa mu, ka ma ṣe dẹhìn kọ 'ra. 'In the midst of numerous people, before and behind, relations are sure to recognize and know each other; as we have known ourselves to be *one*, let us set our face to each other, and embrace ourselves together, never to turn against each other.

[1] Feather is the only object which one can see, or reach the inward hearing organs, so you and I should see or come to each other at all events.—J. A. O. P.

[2] The long string indicates considerable distance or a long road.—J. A. O. P.

[3] The *two cowries* each, up and down, indicate numerous people before and behind, and the *two* in the middle indicate two blood relations.—J. A. O. Payne.

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201. IV. Letter from his Majesty Awujale, the King of Jebu, to his nephew abroad.

(A knot of flat straw; four cowries, the eyes upwards; a spice fruit; three cowries, the eyes upwards; a twig; a white feather; a cowrie, the eye upwards. Total length 12½ inches.)

Orọ̀ temi tirẹ meji jọra wọw. 'Your words agree with mine very much.'

Tuà rẹ wù mi osi jọ temi. 'Your ways are pleasing to me, and I like them.'

MAM.—*Ẹrùn ki iru Ọlọrun.* 'DECEIVE ME NOT.—Because the spice[1] would yield nothing else but a sweet and genuine odour unto God.'

Nka ṣeru si ọ lailai. 'I shall never deal doubly with you all my life long.'

Bi ọ̀rọ̀ rẹ ti rèn mi to, opin ni. 'The weight of your words to me is beyond all description.'

Nitori lori ẹni kanna la njoko, t'a sì usùn—lo jẹ ki manṣẹ si ọ. 'As it is on the same family mat we have been seating and lying down together—I send to you.'

Njẹ eti rẹ ni ngo mã re. 'I am therefore anxiously waiting and hoping to hear from you.'

202. V. A message of peace and good news from his Majesty the King of Jebu, to his Majesty the King of Lagos, after his restoration to the throne on the 28th of December, 1851.

(A knot of flat straw; two cowries, the eyes upwards; a large bean, greenish, round and flat; a spice fruit (?) long 1½ inch; two cowries as before; a brown shiny bean, oval, open one side, thin edged (*sán*); a bean, round, greyish;[2] two cowries as before; a brown bean as above (*sán*); a spice fruit, 2 inches long; two cowries, the eyes face to face; no knot, and the straw continuing flat. Total length 13 inches.)

[1] *Iru* = 'spice.'

[2] The *warra*, 'a big seed,' a sort of pomegranate in the bush. They are used for a sort of game on a board with deep holes, where the *warra* are stored during the play.—J. A. O. Payne.

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Ninu gbogbo enia ti o kùn igun mẹrẹrin aiye, ara Eko ati Tjẹbu lo sun mọra ju. 'Of all the people by which the four corners of the world are inhabited, the Lagos and Jẹbu people are the nearest.'

Bi o ti jẹ pe ere li ã fi ayò sẹ, bẽ lo yẹ ki Jẹbu ati ara Eko mã ṣọrẹ pò. 'As "warre" is the common play of the country, so the Jẹbus and Lagos should always play, and be friendly with each other.'

Sisàn li[1] *ọsàn isan mi; ki o ma sai ṣàn ọ bio ti sàn mi.* 'Mutual pleasantness is my desire; as it is pleasant with me, so may it be pleasant with you.'

MARU.—*Ẹrùn ki irer Ọlọrun.* 'DECEIVE ME NOT:—Because the spice would yield nothing else but a sweet and genuine odour unto God, I shall never deal doubly with you.'

203. VI. An unfavourable answer to a request or message.

(A cowrie.)

Ọrọ̀ na kan leti ẹni, kò ṣẽ ṣe. 'The matter is unpleasant to our hearing—not easy to be done.'

204. VII. A message of reproof for non-payment of debt.[2]

(A knot of flat straw, which split in two intercrosses, though two cowries lengthwise, the eyes back to back; then a knot; a plait of the straw for 2½ inches; another knot, and a length of 1⅓ inches free. Total length 5 inches.)

O kọ ẹhìn si mi patapata, lẹhìn ti a ti ni ọrọ̀ pọ̀ nipa gbèsè ti o jẹ mi, emi na yio sì kẹhìn si ọ. 'You have given me the back altogether, after we have come to an arrangement about the debt you have owed me, I also will turn my back against you.'

[1] The word *ọsan* (name of the orange seed) is from the verb *san* 'to please.'—J. A. O. Payne.

[2] "The *Aroko* of debt is what is sent to traders who, going to market, get oil or other produce on credit; and when he fails to make the payment from Lagos, the creditor sends a remonstrance to the debtor in Lagos, or as the case may be."—J. A. O. Payne.

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205. VIII. A message from a creditor to a bad debtor.

(A knot of flat straw with two cowries as preceding, but the eyes face to face; another cowry the eye upwards; the straw's splitted parts plaited for 3½ inches with a knot at the end. Total length 5 inches.)

O jẹ mi ni gbèsè tan, o sì ta mi nù; emi na yo ṣi ta ọ mì nitori emi kò mọ̀ pe iwọ lè ṣe iru oyi si mi. 'After you have owed me a debt, you kicked against me; I also will throw you off, because I did not know that you could have treated me thus.'

206. IX. A message of goodwill from a Brother to another Brother abroad, asking for a personal interview.

(A knot of straw and two cowries as VIII. *i.e.* the eyes face to face; then two more cowries disposed in the same way; a knot; a plait of straw splitted on 3½ inches; another knot, and 1⅓ length of straw. Total length 6⅓ inches.)

Ọrọ̀ ayọ̀ ati ẹrin in. Ara ưa le. Mo fẹ ọ ri, ki oju ti emi ati tirẹ ko ṣe mẹsin. 'It is a message of joy and gladness. We are quite well in the family. I would like to see you, so that the *four eyes* of yours and mine may see each other.'

207. A search of the symbolical possibilities of the objects employed and the meaning put upon their arrangement is not uninteresting, and can be easily done. The symbolism, though occasionally far-fetched, is often quite clear; for instance, Mr. Payne told me that a stone means 'heavy,' a bit of charcoal should signify that the matter is dark and unclear, etc.

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208. The Chinese records known as *Nan she*, covering the years 420–589 A.D.,[1] contain some information about the Japanese systems of writing. At first they made use of notched sticks and knotted cords, and had no other writing. Afterwards, in order to study the Buddhist religion, they

[1] *Nan she: Taï ping yü lan*, bk. 782, f. 4. Cf. *Ethnographie de Matouanlin*, transl. d'Hervey de St. Denys, vol. i. pp. 79, 87.

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asked from the country of Pek-tsi in Corea[1] some Chinese books, and it was only from the beginning of that time that they became acquainted with the art of writing.[2] This is claimed by them as the first introduction of Chinese learning, and the year was A.D. 405[3] when Wani came from there to be teacher to the heir-apparent. It was only about or after 670 A.D. that they studied regularly the Chinese characters, and employed some as phonetic signs of the Japanese sounds.[4] The latter signs, written in cursive style and numbering about 300, were systematized, under the name of *Firakana* or plain characters by Kuhai-Kabodaishi, who died in A.D. 835.[5] In the preceding century they had a syllabary of 47 signs framed purposely for them, and made up of Chinese symbols simplified by Kibi no Mabi, who

[1] Chinese literature had been introduced in Pek-tsi in A.D. 374, an event which Klaproth mistook for the invention of the Corean Alphabet (*infrà* § 211). Buddhism was not, however, introduced officially in Japan from Sinra (Corea) before A.D. 552. Cf. *Ni-hon syo-ki*, xix. 25; Leon de Rosny, *La Civilisation Chinoise*, 1883, p. 231.

[2] Some sort of pictorial characters may have been occasionally employed in early times, but genuine specimens have not been ascertained. Imibe no Masamichi (A.D. 1367) in his *Jin dai ku ketsu* says that the characters of the divine age were fixtures of objects. The *Bungei rui-san*, a valuable work, mentions, vol. i. f. 4, the early use of knotted cords.

[3] Chinese characters were certainly known and used in Corea and Japan before these dates, but apparently by Chinese scribes employed for that purpose. The event of A.D. 405 is ascribed in the received Japanese chronology to the year 285; but Mr. W. G. Aston, *Early Japanese History*, Trans. Asiat. Soc. Japan, 1887, vol. xvi. pp. 65-75, in accord with native scholars such as Motowori Norinaga and Tashibana Riôhei, has found by internal evidence of tampering with, and by comparison with the Corean and Chinese temporary records, that, when the ancient history of Japan was reconstituted, probably after the destruction of the Archives by the great fire of A.D. 645, an error of two cycles of 60, or 120 years, crept into the chronology of that period.

[4] The *Ko-ji-ki* or "Record of Ancient Matters" in A.D. 712, and the *Niho-gi* or "Chronicles of Japan" in 720, are written in Chinese characters mixed ideographically and phonetically. The *Kana-majiri* or "Mixed Phonetic style," the most convenient vehicle for writing the language, which was developed little before A.D. 900, consists of Chinese characters used ideographically in the order of the Japanese syntax, with a consistent use of characters employed phonetically to denote particles and terminations. Cf. B. H. Chamberlain, *Introduction* to his *Translation of the Ko-ji-ki*, 1882, pp. 6, 19. *The Manyogana* is another style of writing, in which, as in the *Manyôshin*, a poetical "Collection of the ten thousand leaves" (compiled 749–809 A.D.), are used entire Chinese characters to represent sound and not sense. Cf. *ibid.* p. 11. Dr. J. J. Hoffmann, *A Japanese Grammar*, Leiden, 1868, p. 4, states that the *Koye* of a Chinese character in Japan is its Chinese sound as the Japanese pronounce it, and the *Yomi* is its meaning worded in Japanese.

[5] Cf. J. C. Hepburn, Japanese-English dictionary, Shanghai, 1872, p. 11.

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died A.D. 776, and which was called *Katakana* or side letters.[1]

209. Besides these various sorts of written characters, there are also in Japan the *Ya-jirushi* or house-signs, which, little used in the South, came very prominently into notice in the North and notably in the island of Yezo. They consist partly of loans from the *Kana* syllabaries and from the Chinese characters in commonest use, partly of rude ideographic symbols invented for the occasion. As marks and symbols, it is by their names that a house, firm, person, and their belongings are easily recognised and designated.[2] And they correspond thus far to the tribal clan or family marks that are met with elsewhere.[3]

210. The Aïnos of S. Kamtchatka were said to make notches on sticks to remember, and to use as well knotted cords.[4] We have already spoken (§ 37 above) of the imperfect knowledge of a system of writing existing among those of Yezo. Their marks, which they use also in tattooing, are mixed; besides survival of Corean characters,[5] they include a number of signs like the *Ya-jirushis* of the Japanese, and in some cases similar to them.[6] But they do not make a

[1] Cf. J. C. Hepburn, *ibid.* The syllabary in Japanese is called *Irofa* from its three first characters, as our alphabet. Later on several fancy alphabets and syllabaries were more or less made use of for certain purposes. They are given in *Giji Hen* of Hirata Atsutane (1819, 8vo.), ff. 14–21, and in *Bun-gei rui-san* of Sakaki-bara Yoshi-no (1878), ff. 18–23. Dr. A. Bastian in his *Remarks on the Indo-Chinese Alphabets*, J.R.A.S., n.s. iii. 74, records that he was given by a Burmese scholar a list of sixty-six secret modes of writing.

[2] Cf. Basil Hall Chamberlain, *On the Quasi-characters called Ya-jirushi*, pp. 50–57; *Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan*, Yokohama, 1887, vol. xv. The author has accompanied his paper with two lists, one of 42 chief ideographic components of house-signs, and another of 74 such signs in actual use.

[3] Cf. *infrà*, § 234. The Library of the Royal Asiatic Society contains a Japanese calendar, called *Mekura shin Kinaku*, in rude pictorial characters for the illiterate people. It is followed with an explanation of the pictographs. Borel, in his *Trésor des recherches et Antiquités Gauloises*, says: "En Albigeois, les paysans se servent d'une espèce de hiéroglyphiques; en sorte qu'ils font des almanachs sur un morceau de bois qui n'est pas si grand qu'une carte à jouer, où sont marqués tous les mois et jours de l'année, avec les festes et autres choses notables par un artifice singulier." On such calendars, cf. A. Certeux, *Les Calendriers des illettrés*; Rev. tradit. popul. v. 683–7, and *Les Calendriers à emblêmes hiéroglyphiques*, 1891, 8vo.

[4] Steller, in J. Klaproth, *Aperçu general des trois royaumes*, p. 254.

[5] Dr. G. Schlegel has pointed out in their vocabulary several words which prove the former knowledge of writing among them. Cf. *T'oung pao Archives*, Mai 1892, vol. iii. p. 156.

[6] Cf. T. de L., *On the Corean, Aïno and Fusang writings*, 1892, § 21.

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writing. The country of Fusang, which has been lately identified with the island of Karafto (Saghalian), and therefore with an Aïno land, was reported by a Buddhist pilgrim, *Hwui-shen*, in A.D. 499, to possess the art of writing.[1] This would necessarily refer to an older system of written characters than that learned from the Coreans, which are noticed hereafter (§ 211). It is probably the writing of one or two rock inscriptions[2] discovered in 1880 and 1882 at Otarunai (Yezo), and still undeciphered, which have been published; it has no resemblance whatever to the Corean characters.

211. Notched sticks (*Keh-muh*) were formerly used in Southern Corea. Chinese learning had been introduced in the N.W. at an early date.[3] Buddhism was introduced from N. China in *Kao-Kiu-li* (the centre) in A.D. 372.[4] Chinese learning was imported in *Pek-tsi* (the S.W.) in 374,[5] and Buddhism in 384. The rude process of *Keh-muh* was still used in *Sin-lo* (the S.E.) in A.D. 521, when Buddhism was introduced from Nanking. Soon afterwards Buddhist pilgrims from Sin-lo began to go to India; some went through the Tibetan and Tokharestan routes, and after their return the Corean *un-mun* (or vulgar) alphabet of

[1] The country of Fusang had long been supposed to be America, Japan, or an imaginary country; the most numerous opinions since 1751 were in favour of America, and the last work on the question by Mr. Edward P. Vining, *An inglorious Colombus: evidence that Hwui shăn discovered America*, New York, 1885, 788 pp., was a scholarly attempt. But Prof. G. Schlegel, of Leyden, retranslating the original text, has verified all the statements it contains, and shown that the country referred to was the Aïno island of Karafto (Saghalian) in a special paper, *Fou sang kao: Le Pays de Fousang*, in T'oung pao Archives, May 1892, vol. iii. pp. 101–168.

[2] About the Aïno inscription mentioned in § 37 above, *vide* also J. Milne, *Notes on Stone Implements from Otao and Hakodate, with a few General Remarks on the Pre-Historic Remains of Japan*, in *Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. iii. pp. 61–91 and plate p. 65, where mention is made and copy is given of an inscription scraped on a cliff at Otaru opposite Yezo, perhaps the same as that of Dr. Scheube.

[3] By Ki-tze, uncle of the last ruler of the Shang-Yn dynasty, who refused to submit to the Tchou after the overthrow of his nephew, and, going north-west, settled with his followers in *Loh-Lang* and *Tchao-sien*. His tomb is shown still at present, as a mound four feet high, near Hpyeng-yang (cf. W. R. Carles, *Life in Corea*, 1888, pp. 161–164, 169, 170), with other remains.

[4] In Corean these names are *Kokourye*, *Paik-tjyei*, and *Sin-ra*. Cf. my paper *On the Corean, Aïno, and Fusang Writings* for the details of all these facts.

[5] It was this event of 374 which J. Klaproth mistook for the invention of the Corean writing.

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twenty-five letters (14 consonants and 11 vowels, reducible to 10 and 6) was made in A.D. 681, by a great scholar named *Syel-tchong*, on a Tibeto-Indian base of the period.[1] It was re-arranged into a syllabary (*ri-to*) and perfected in 1456-1469 and 1777-1781.

212. The *Wu-huan*, known to the Chinese in the third century B.C., used notched sticks for the transmission of orders.[2] They formed with the *Sien-pi* the two fractions of the *Tung-hu* after being routed and split by the Turkish Hiung-nu in 209 B.C. Their respective names were, according to the Chinese records, derived from the mountain where they took refuge.[3]

213. Among the *Ko* 滑, which after A.D. 466 became known as the Yep-ta,[4] 嚈噠 later, 挹怛, the use of notched sticks was prevalent, according to the Chinese ethnographical notices of Central Asia. But this custom held good only among themselves; as for their relations with the other states westwards, they employed the *hu* or western writing on sheep's skin.[5]

214. In the fifth century the Sheh-wei (an ancestral tribe of the Mongols)[6] used bits of wood arranged in a certain order as a calendar.[7] In 1247 A.D. the notched stick carried by an old Mongol woman,[8] gave to Sadja Pandita hints as to the writing he was then engaged in framing for the

[1] The immediate antecedents of the Corean writing is not known, and may be still discovered. The Tibetan characters contain 30 letters and 4 vocal marks. In Tokharistan in 630, according to Hiuen Tsang (Beal, i. 38) the writing contained 25 letters from left to right. Corean pilgrims went through that country about and after that time.

[2] Cf. Ma Tuanlin, *Wen hien t'ung k'ao*, K. 342, fol. 1. The ancestors of the Mandshus are said to have used knotted cords.

[3] Cf. J. Klaproth, *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*.

[4] Sung yun, passing through the Yepta (or Ephtalites) country about 520 A.D., remarked that they had no written characters. Hiuen Tsang makes the same remark, a century later, about the Badakshan people. Cf. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, vol. i. p. xci; vol. ii. p. 291. The reading *Yep-ta* is ascertained by the double Chinese spelling, which agree together.

[5] *Tung t'ien*, in *Tai ping yü lan*, bk. 796, f. 8. They were known since A.D. 126. On their coins cf. Sir Alexander Cunningham, *Ephtalites or White Huns*, pp. 221-244 of Trans. Ninth Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892-3.

[6] Cf. H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. i. p. 28.

[7] Cf. above, § 13, a similar practice.

[8] Cf. H. H. Howorth, *ibid.* p. 506.

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Mongols (says the legend).[1] In 1221 Tchang-tch'un, the Chinese traveller, had noticed that they used to carve wood to register their contracts.[2]

215. The notches, marks, dots, and strigae on bones of the Stone age in Europe have been looked upon as means of notation, similar to the practices of the same kind found elsewhere so extensively.[3]

216. According to Barrow, the early chronology among the Kaffirs is kept by the moon, and is registered by notches on pieces of wood. It seldom extends beyond a generation, until the old series is cancelled, and some great event, such as the death of a favourite chief or the gaining of a victory, serves for a new era.[4]

217. In South-western China and Indo-China, notching wood has been prevalent as means of notation; so among the *Li-su* on the Tibetan frontier,[5] several *Lolo* tribes in South Szetchuen,[6] some *Pai-y* (Shan) tribes of Yunnan,[7] and *Khas* tribes of Central Laos.[8]

218. In the island of Haïnan, those of the native tribes who make use of knotted cords and also of notched sticks are the *Loi*[9] and not the *Li*, as the latter had formerly the knowledge of writing and speak different dialects.[10]

219. In many instances of notched sticks, these are

[1] Cf. above, §§ 127, 128.

[2] Cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, i. 53. Among the Ostiacks of the present day, the practice still obtains of making notched sticks for current account between two parties. Cf. Stephen Sommier, *Un estate in Siberia fra Ostiacchi, Samoiedi, Sirieni, Tatari, Kirghisi, e Baskiri.* Florence, 1885; *Sirieni, Ostiacchi e Samoiedi dell Ob*, 1887. Arch. per l'Anthrop. e la Etnologia.

[3] Lartet and Christy, *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*, pp. 189–201, 288–291, with numerous references. Cf. Solomon Reinach, *Antiquités Nationales*, 1889, vol. i. p. 218.

[4] *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, vol. i. p. 218.

[5] *Yun-nan t'ung tchi, Nan Man tchi*, kiv. 32, 3, f. 25. Cf. *suprà*, § 6.

[6] Pere Crabouillet, *Les Lolos*: Missions Catholiques, Lyon, 1873.

[7] *Nan Man tchi*, kiv. 32, 2, f. 7; but only for small transactions, as otherwise they use the *Mien* (*i.e.* Burmese) characters.

[8] Dr. Harmand, *Le Laos et les populations sauvages de l'Indo-Chine*: Tour du Monde, 1877, 7; Pierre Lefèvre Pontalis, *Notes sur quelques populations du Nord de l'Indo-Chine*, p. 21: extr. *Journal Asiatique*, 1892.

[9] In rectification of the statement above, § 20; cf. also below, § 266.

[10] On this question of difference of language between the *Loi* and the *Li*, cf. my work on *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, §§ 122–126.

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really message-sticks,[1] and described accordingly, while in numerous cases the descriptions are too vague and insufficient even when further information shows that such is the case. "The hill-tribes of the province of Luang-Prabang, in the Shan States of Indo-China, have no written characters, but the degree of dignity of the sender of a message is known by the number of notches on a stick, to which is attached a feather and a capsicum, indicating 'hot haste,' if the message be of that nature."[2] The boombarro or message-sticks of the Australian natives of Eastern Queensland, of the Wotjoballuk of the Wimmera river in Victoria, of the Wirajuri and of the Kaiabara of New South Wales, have been carefully described.[3] So have been those of the New Caledonians.[4]

220. In the Salomon Islands, says Mr. H. B. Gruppy in his valuable description of this group,[5] "the only method of reckoning that came under my notice was in the instance of a native from the Treasury Island, who, whilst serving as interpreter on board the 'Lark,' kept a register of the time he was away from his island by tying a knot daily on a cord and marking Sunday by a piece of paper, the knots being about an inch apart. I learned from a Faro (another island) man that this is the method of recording days commonly employed by the inhabitants of the Bougainville Straits, the 'moons' or months being alone distinguished by a piece of native tobacco tied in the knot. Such a practice, however, would appear to be followed only during the temporary absences from their islands, as when they are away on canoe expeditions. A native captured in 1769 by Surville, whilst at Port Praslin in Isabel (one of the Carolines), kept count

[1] Such as those of the *Li-su*. Cf. § 7; of the *Wu-huan*, § 212; the so-called 'bâtons de commandement' of the Stone age, those of the Meridional slaves, the magistral staffs of ancient Prussia (*schulzenstabe*), cf. *Verhandl. d. Berliner Gesellschaft*, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1884, 1886, 1887, etc.; S. Reinach, *Antiquités*, i. 234, 235.

[2] J. M'Carthy, Superintendent of Surveys in Siam, Roy. Geograph. Soc., 14th Nov., 1887. M. P. Lefèvre Pontalis, *l.c.*, has remarked notched sticks among them.

[3] Cf. A. W. Howitt, *Notes on Australian Message-sticks and Messengers*, Journ. Anthropol. Inst. 1889, xviii. 314-332.

[4] In the *Revue d'Ethnographie*.

[5] *The Salomon Islands and their Natives* (London, 1887), p. 56.

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of the days of absence from his country by tying knots in a 'lacet.'"[1]

221. In the Pelew Islands strings with knots and loops serve for the exchange of news, or to authorize any commission entrusted to a third person. In the local dialect they are called *rusl*, and it is a significant fact that this word is now applied also to the letters of Europeans.[2] They have also pictorial manuscripts of a rude and primitive kind.

222. "Now-a-days," said Mr. P. L. J. B. Gaussin, in 1853, "the natives of the Marquesan Islands make for their accounts knots on cords and notches on sticks."[3]

223. In the Fidji Islands, when embassies were sent, sticks and nets were used to aid the memory.[4]

224. Among the Bhúiyas or Bhúniyas of Kheonjhur in Bengal, a knotted string or *ganthi*,[5] passed from village to village, in the name of their sixty chiefs, throws the entire country into commotion, and the order which is communicated in connection with it is as implicitly obeyed as if it emanated from the most potent despot.[6] The native Pinyas of Australia use a net for their messages[7] and not the message-stick like many other tribes.[8]

225. We may perhaps see in the following fact a surviving memory of a forgotten mode of notation. The Mincopies (Andaman islanders) fancy that the numerous irregular and natural (?) marks which are visible on a huge block of stone

[1] From an extract of this journey in *Voyage du Marion*, Paris, 1783, p. 274; H. B. Gruppy, *ibid.*

[2] Karl Semper, *Die Palau inseln*; Oscar Peschel, *The Races of Man*, p. 346.

[3] P. L. J. B. Gaussin, *Du Dialecte de Tahiti, de celui des îles Marquises, et en général de la langue polynésienne* (Paris, 1853, 8vo.), p. 102.

[4] Horatio Hales, *Ethnography*, p. 51; Oscar Peschel, *The Races of Man*, p. 346.

[5] *Gánṭh, gánṭhá, gánṭhi*, lit. 'a knot,' 'a tie,' and fig. 'an engagement.' In the N.W. it is applied to the refuse of straw, comprising the knotted parts of the stalk and ear-ends, which are formed on a separate pile on the threshing-floor; the *colder* of English agriculture. H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of . . . Terms and . . . Words of British India*, col. 164 (London, 1855, 4to.).

[6] Edw. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 144, 145.

[7] Cf. A. W. Howitt, *Notes on Australian Message-Sticks and Messengers*, l.c.

[8] Wampuns similar to those of North America (*supra*, § 15) have been found in the graves of the Guanches of the Canaries. Cf. fig. 15 in J. William Dawson, *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, 1888, pp. 223, 224.

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near the *Wotaemi* marsh are the records of creation, and tell the deeds of the *Tomola* or early men.[1] The tradition is interesting because at present the Mincopies do not know any mode of notation.

226. The cup-marks on rocks, almost universal, are one of the most curious modes of embryo-writing by conventional marks that we have to notice in the present work. They have been found in Scotland, Ireland, England, Norway (*elfenstenars*), Denmark,[2] Switzerland (*Schalensteine*),[3] France (*pierres à cupules*, or *à écuelles*),[4] North America (*cup-stones* of Ohio, U.S.A.),[5] and in other countries, on large boulders, megalithic monuments or on cliffs; appear also in regular lines or diagrams, high up on the face of rocks in the Himalayas, in other parts of India,[6] and in several provinces of China.[7] They are generally met with in weird sites, or in the vicinity of primitive places of worship, and are often connected to this day with awe and superstition.[8]

227. Some cup-marks[9] in the Shan-tung province[10] of China have lately been studied by the Rev. Alfred G. Jones. None of the local explanations of their former use, namely to thrust stakes into to form stanchions for a railing, or to

[1] Cf. E. H. Man, *On the Aboriginal inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vii. 455. Also A. de Quatrefages, *Les Pygmées*, 1887, p. 196.

[2] The first work where they are described at length is, I think, that of Sir J. Simpson, *Archaic Sculpturings of Cups, Circles, etc., on stones and rocks in Scotland, England, and other countries.* Edinburgh, 1867, 8vo.

[3] E. Desor, *Les Pierres à écuelles*, Neuchâtel, 1879. And *suprà*, p. 22, n. 6.

[4] Emile Cartailhac, *La France préhistorique d'après les Sépultures et les Monuments*, 1889, pp. 239, 248. A. Falsan, *La Période glaciaire étudiée principalement en France et en Suisse*, 1889, pp. 75, 286.

[5] Ch. Rau, *Observations on the Cup-shaped and other Lapidarian Sculptures*, Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. v. Thomas Wilson, *A Study of Prehistoric Anthropology*, pp 661, 662. Report of the U.S. National Museum.

[6] Cf. the interesting archæological papers of Mr. Rivett Carnac, quoted p. 22, n. 4.

[7] Cf. *suprà* p. 22, and *infrà* § 227.

[8] Mr. E. Cartailhac, *La France Préhistorique*, p. 248, concludes as follows: "Il est donc positif qu'elles (les pierres à écuelles) avaient une signification pour les hommes de l'âge de pierre et pour leurs descendants ou successeurs immédiats. Leur sens mystérieux était compris dans une grande partie de l'Europe. Après l'âge du bronze elles disparaissent."

[9] Cf. above, § 33. They belong to the civilization of the pre-Chinese races, on which see my works, *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 196, and *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization*, §§ 354, 368.

[10] In the hilly district of Ku-shan.

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collect rain-water, or to hold water for the pilgrims, will bear the test of examination; and their position "in a wild, awe-inspiring spot," at a distance of a few yards from the very frontier-line, is considered by the traveller the exact place to favour the rudest form of worship.[1] "On returning to my inn," says the same traveller, "I gained no more information. They told me of 'Fairy holes' in the rocks near the village, but on going to look I found nothing but a number of natural indentations such as are common to rocks. They called them *Shân sien ngao*, and described them to me in words that would exactly convey the idea of cup-marks; but on seeing them, I only got a fresh proof of Chinese looseness of description and observation."[2]

[1] *Cup-markings in North-Eastern China*, The Academy, No. 738, 26 June, 1886 (Letter to Prof. R. K. Douglas).

[2] I have suggested already (cf. above, § 33) that the probable historical basis of the *Ho-t'u* and *Loh-shu* was the tradition of cup-marks on cliffs of rocks, which the newly arrived Chinese saw in their new country. The mythical arrangement of the Loh-shu has been explained already by the early Jesuit missionaries and by the Chinese themselves as an arithmetical puzzle; the addition of the round marks on any of the four sides of the square making 15, leaving aside the 5 of the centre. It seems to me that the Ho-t'u is also nothing more than another puzzle in its arrangement. It is made of round marks similar to those of the Loh-shu, and arranged by sets from 1 to 9; ten is obtained by the addition of two sets of 5 left behind in the aforesaid calculation; then 11, 12, 13, and 14 are the respective totals of the sets on the left, lower, right, and upper sides of the diagram, 15 being found on the Loh-shu; the two schemes complete one another. The following figures illustrate the matter (the black correspond to the black circles):

Ho-t'u.

(=14)

7
2
5

(=11) 8. 3 5 4. 9 (=13)

5
1
6

(=12)

Loh-shu.

4 9 2 (=15)

3 5 7 (=15)

8 1 6 (=15)

(=15) (=15) (=15)

Prof. C. de Harlez has also (*The Academy*, 759, Nov. 20, 1886) found an explanation of the Ho-t'u puzzle, different from the above, and, as it were, completing it, which shows how carefully worked out was the puzzle. "It is to be noticed (in the two diagrams) that the even numbers are always indicated by dark, and the odd by light circles. Now, contrary to this principle, the two number 5's which stand above and below the central 5 are represented by dark circles. Taking away these numbers, there remains but the simple puzzle, to

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228. Along the southern coast of Hawaii, according to Ellis, one could frequently see a number of straight lines, semicircular or concentric rings, with some rude imitations of the human figure, cut or carved in the compact rocks of lava. They had been made by former travellers, in order to inform their successors that they had been there. The "dot" signified a "man," and the number of "rings" the number in the party, who had travelled round the island (a semicircle denoting that they had returned from that place). A fish denoted that one of that species or size had been caught.[1]

229. In addition to the pictures drawn in their caves [2] by the former Bosjesmans of South Africa, "several crosses, circles, points, and lines were placed in a long rank, as if intended to express some meaning; but no other attempt appeared at the representation of inanimate objects." [3]

230. A curious find was made in 1889 in the Transvaal. In the "filling" of a "filled-in" shaft on a gold-bearing reef, near the Sabie river, in the Leydenburg district, some conventional marks or unknown characters forming a short inscription have been found on a stone.[4] Should its genuineness be thoroughly established, it might be a trace of the foreigners who have worked in olden times in the mines,[5] as some of the characters are not without resemblance to the old script of South Arabia.

wit: the numbers from 1—9 are so arranged that by adding to the central 5 the next number in each direction you obtain a sum equal to the extreme number in the same direction. Thus, $5 + 1 = 6$; $5 + 2 = 7$; $5 + 3 = 8$; $5 + 4 = 9$. The result would be the same if the number 5 were added and placed at every side of the central 5." Cf. also of the same scholar, *Le Yh-King, rétabli, traduit et commenté*, Bruxelles, 1889, p. 29. E. Eitel, *Fragmentary Studies in Ancient Chinese Philosophy*, China Review, xvii. pp. 26–35.

[1] Dr. Adolf Bastian, *Sprachvergleichende Studien*, p. 104. The same method of notation is met with in the Fiji Islands, where Mr. Montague C. Johnstone told me that he has seen some of them similarly explained by the natives.

[2] Cf. § 186.

[3] Barrow, *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa*, vol. i. p. 240; Staniland Wake, *Chapters on Man*, p. 195.

[4] Found by Mr. Richard Hart, and published in an extract of *Journal of Leydenburg*, September 6th, 1889, and sent to the authorities of the British Museum, where I could take a tracing of it. Cf. *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. vii. pp. 113–6.

[5] We have spoken already (§ 35) of incised marks belonging to the period of the Stone age in Europe. And here we must notice, as perhaps instances of a

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231. A class of conventional marks, which deserves more attention than has hitherto been paid to it, is that of the masons' marks. The most interesting hitherto noticed, but not investigated into, are those on composition bricks found at Suza,[1] and on the stones of the early Buddhist topes in India.[2] In caves of the Mirzapur district, some curiously inscribed characters have been found;[3] they may be an embryo writing or debased characters.

232. A rude mode of notation by *rebus* existed previously to the art of writing among the ancient Greeks, as shown by the allusion in Homer (*Iliad*, iv. 168) to the λυγρὰ *σήματα*, which do not seem to have hitherto received the attention they deserve.[4] At the meeting of the Hellenic Society, Nov. 27, 1893, Mr. A. J. Evans announced that he had discovered on a series of gems and seals, found mainly in Crete and the Peloponnese, some sixty symbols which seemed to belong to a native Greek system of hieroglyphics,[5] distinct from the Egyptian on the one hand and the so-called Hittite on the other.[6]

local and forgotten mode of notation by painting, the curious designs in red marked on pebbles and unearthed from two caves in the South of France. Cf. Emile Cartailhac, *Les fouilles de M. Ed. Piette dans la grotte du Mas d'Azil* (*Ariége*): L'Anthropologie, Mars-Avril, 1891.

[1] Cf. W. K. Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 398.

[2] The ancient coins of India were stamped with symbols, about 300 in number (according to the list made by Mr. W. Theobald), which were rebus of the issuers' names. Cf. Alexander Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India from the earliest times*, 1891, p. 56 sq. Stamping money was invented in 750–700 B.C. at Ægina and in Lydia. In Babylonia the practice of blank shekel pieces lasted late, and the first stamped coins appear only in B.C. 553. The Erythræan traders had carried the system of marking money as early as B.C. 675 in their emporia of the Shantung peninsula in N.E. China. Cf. V. and E. Revillout, *Les Obligations en droit Egyptien*, 1886, p. 462. T. de L., *Catalogue of Chinese Coins*, 1892, p. 11.

[3] By Mr. J. H. Rivett Carnac, Letter to me from Ghazipur, Feb. 28th, 1883.

[4] Dr. J. Halevy in *Revue Critique*, reviewing M. Ph. Berger's work, *Histoire de l'Ecriture dans l'Antiquité*.

[5] *Athenæum*, Dec. 2nd, 1893, p. 775.

[6] Prof. J. Halevy, *Introduction au déchiffrement des inscriptions pseudo-Hittites ou Anatoliennes* (20 pp. Revue Semitique, 1893), states that the Hittites were speaking a Semitic language, while the inscriptions are written in an unknown language of Asia Minor, perhaps connected with the old Lycian. M. Joachim Menant, *Eléments du Syllabaire Hétéen*, 112 pp. (Mém. Acad. Inscr. xxxiv. 2, 1892), gives a list of 190 symbols including variants. Mr. Thomas Tyler, *The Nature of the Hittite Writing*, pp. 258–272 of Trans. Ninth Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892–93, vol. ii., has published (p. 258) a bilingual seal, Hittite and Babylonian, which he calls Seal of Indilimma, and which should

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233. A frequent use of conventional marks and rebuses may be referred to in the symbols and designs of tattooings[1] which have sometimes been selected according to tribal or sectarial marks, or for signs of distinction or ignominy of any sort, and by superstition. Certain lines on the forehead are now regarded in India as a sectarian Hindu mark, while the marks on the hand and forearm are an ornament.[2] Tribal marks made of straight lines are current on the banks of the Congo,[3] and in Central South Africa.[4] The Haidahs of N.W. America are tattooed with conventionalized animal forms which are the totems of the tribe, and are repeated on the pillars erected before the doors of the chiefs.[5] These cases are exceptional. Contrary to an erroneous and commonly repeated opinion, the *moko* (or tattooing) of the New Zealanders is purely ornamental, and only by its richness is it considered as a proof of courage.[6] Exaggerated

belong to 2000 B.C. according to M. T. G. Pinches' view of the Cuneiform legend. Prof. A. H. Sayce, who has done so much since 1880 for the decipherment of this mysterious writing, thinks (*The Decipherment of the Hittite inscriptions*, Acad. May 21st, 1892) that it has been invented at the suggestion of the hieroglyphs of Egypt. M. Leon de Lantsheere, *De la race et de la langue des Hittites*, Bruxelles, 1891, thinks that, although original, the writing betrays the imitation of an Egyptian model. On the other hand Major C. R. Conder, *Notes on the Hittite Writing*, J.R.A.S. 1893, pp. 823–853 and 8 plates, the most recent of a series of publications on the same subject, maintains his view that the Hittites were Mongolian; by a remarkable effort of ingenuity he has suggested, from comparisons with the Cypriote and early Babylonian characters, syllabic values for 113 symbols of the so-called Hittite writing.

[1] The best definition of Tattooing is that given by my friend Dr. Ernest Berchon, in his *Histoire Medicale du Tatouage*, 1869, p. 2: "It is that strange and very ancient custom which consists in the introduction under the cutaneous epidermis, at different depths, of colouring matter, in order to produce some design which will be of very long duration, though it is not absolutely indelible." It is done by pricking, gashing, or burning. Tattooing by cicatrization seems to exist chiefly among the black races. Cf. A. W. Buckland, *On Tattooing*, in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., May, 1888. Cf. *suprà*, § 191, for another aspect.

[2] So are the *godna* or arrow mark, which is extensively used among the Kolarians (cf. Edw. Balfour, *Cyclopedia of India*, 1885, vol. iii. p. 825), and the *ōla* or pig arrow among the Andamanese (*Anthrop. Journ.*, 1883, p. 334).

[3] H. H. Johnston, *The River Congo*, p. 420.

[4] Dr. Holub, *On the Central South African tribes*, in Anthrop. Journal, Aug., 1881.

[5] A. W. Buckland, *l.c.*, *Anthropological Studies*, 1891, p. 228. For the Aïnos, cf. *suprà*, § 210.

[6] E. Berchon, *Discours sur les origines et le but du Tatouage*, Bordeaux, 1886; *Le Tatouage aux îles Marquises, Fragment ethnologique*, Bull. Soc. Anthrop. Paris, 1860, i. 99 sq. A. W. Buckland, *l.c.*, pp. 228, 231. The pre-Chinese tribes of Eastern China (Tchehkiang Fuhkien) used to tattoo their forehead. Cf. Szema Tsien, *She Ki*, kiv. xli. f. i.; xliii. f. 25. Tattooing black the forehead

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and fanciful views have often been put forward on tattooings, which are only a matter of fashion, taste, and art, and in which the most proficient have proved to be the Japanese.[1]

234. The *Tewarichi-Ali Seldschuk* or "History of the Seldschuk Family," a MS. (No. 419) of the Leyden Library, described by Prof. A. Vambéry,[2] gives a genealogy and list of twenty-four tribes, with their respective marks or seals, otherwise called *tamgas*. These marks, altogether symbolical, in some cases having a faint resemblance to hieroglyphics, according to the intended meaning of the symbol, and only recognisable when this meaning is known, were used as marks of property, and often inscribed on cattle, as is done elsewhere,[3] such as the *wusums* of the Bedawi clans. Prof. Vambéry has rightly remarked that an inscription found at Minussinsk, and published by Castren in 1847,[4] contains many signs which are so much like the above *tamgas*, that this resemblance leads us to believe that the inscription of Minussinsk, as well as those on the granite rocks of the banks of the Smolanka, a tributary of the Irtisch, were simply a register of those tribes to whom the right of pasture in those regions had been granted. Therefore the probabilities are that studies pursued in that direction will be successful, and disclose some of the mysteries concealed in these inscriptions.

235. Remains of ancient Chinese inscriptions cannot fail to be discovered in Central Asia. We find in tradition and

is described as one of the earliest five punishments of the Chinese. "In Timor Laut (following Forbes, *Anthrop. Journ.*, Aug. 1883, p. 10) they scar themselves on the arms and shoulders with red-hot stones, in imitation of immense small-pox marks, in order to ward off that disease." Tattooing has been used also to inscribe written characters. In Babylonia slaves were tattooed on the forearm with the name of their owner. Cf. contracts of sale of slaves such as described in B.C. 502 and 443, published by T. G. Pinches, *Proc. S.B.A.*, April 3, 1883, Febr. 5, 1884. In A D. 988, native soldiers and foreign prisoners of war in Annam had legends tattooed on their forehead.

[1] Cf. Wilhelm Joest, *Tätowiren, Narbenzeichen und Korperbemalen* (with pl.), Berlin, 1887. Cf. also Mutius, *Le curiosità del tatuaggio*, Nuov. Antolog., 1890, xxv. 783–791.

[2] *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 4–6 and 36.

[3] The Aïnos make a similar use of marks, but these come from the Corean alphabet, as stated above, § 37, and some *ya-jirushi*, § 210.

[4] Such cattle-marks and brands of Arab tribes have been reproduced by Prof. A. Vambéry, *o.c.*, p. 37 (cf. also *Globus*, xxxii. 256), from Beduins east of Damascus. Cf. J. L. Buckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 1814, where figures of them are given in the plates.

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history several statements concerning the erection of records on rock. The *Tai ping yü lan* Cyclopedia of 983 A.D. quotes[1] a statement purporting to be extracted from the *Shan haï King*, where, however, I fail to find it. It may be one of the glosses of ancient commentators, which are often considered as part of the text. It runs as follows: "Muh, King of Tchou, went to the Küen-lun Hills, and wandering about the (ruins of the) palace of Hien-Yuen (or Hwang-ti) he saw on the ridge of the Tchung mountains some defaced inscriptions, and also the records of the country of Si Wang Mu (or Western Amazon Queen) on the upper part of the Elysian Garden." Another statement says: "On the fifth day, (the King Muh) looked at the Tchun mountain, and thereupon caused inscriptions to be engraved there for the benefit of future generations." A commentator, quoting the above,[2] says: "They were called Stone-engraved Annals; they praised virtue like those set up by Ts'IN She Hwang-ti (246–209 B.C.), and by HAN Wu-ti (140–86 B.C.). The region is that of the spurs of the Küen-lun range in Kansuh, north-west China and north-east Tibet."

We see that some of these inscriptions have been the object of all sorts of fancies which cannot concern us. Let us take the simple statements of history as far as they can be ascertained.

When Muh Wang of TCHOU in 986 B.C. made his famous expedition to Turkestan, he spent, according to the Record, "five days in viewing the summit of Mount *Tchung*, whereupon he had his movements engraved (on a rock) at a place above Yuen-pu, with a view to perpetuate his memory among future generations."[3] Mount *Tchung* is part of the north side of the *Nan shan* range, on the N.W. borders of China proper. Two months later the same King arrived at the country of the Si Wang-mu (*i.e.* Kam-mu of the West),

[1] Kiv. xxxviii. fol. 5.

[2] *Shan haï King*, bk. ii. ff. 15, 16. (Comm.)

[3] *Muh-T'ien-tsze chuen*, or *Narrative of the Son of Heaven Muh*, translated by E. J. Eitel, Ph.D.; China Review, xvii. 223–240, 247–258, pp. 231, 234. Cf. T. de L., *The Si Wang Mu and Muh Wang's expedition to Turkestan in* 986 B.C., §§ 284–296 of *Western Origin of early Chinese Civilization*.

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between Karashar and Kutcha, "had the record of his movements cut in a rock on Mount *Yen*, and moreover planted a locust tree on the spot. The heading (of the inscription) ran thus, 'Mount Si-Wang-Mu.'" In 1874-5 Dr. Prassetsky, at Barkul, was shown a stone inscription, said to have been engraved 3000 years ago by a victorious Chinese general.[1] Now it turns out from two rubbings of that same inscription that it was engraved only in 137 of our era, and that it bears the name of *P'ei Tchen pei, i.e.* Stele of P'ei-Tchen.[2] On the *Ma tsung shan, i.e.* Horse's Mane Mountain, at the S.E. frontier of Hami, a Chinese inscription was engraved, referring to the Chinese general Li-ling, who in B.C. 99 was defeated and made prisoner by the Hiung-nus.[3] An earlier inscription of Tchang-Kien has been found in Ili. Later inscriptions as those of the T'ANG dynasty need not be noticed here, but it is not unlikely that some more inscriptions of the first centuries of our era are still in existence,[4] such for instance as that which had been placed at the entrance of the route through the Dzungarian desert long before its opening, that which Tou-hien erected in A.D. 89 to commemorate his great victory over the Hiung-nus, in the *Yen-jen* hills.[5]

236. The *Muznad* script of S. Arabia was probably introduced in Central Asia in the first century. We are told by the Arabian authors that Shammir Yerash, one of the greatest kings of Yemen, carried war in Irak, Persia, and surrounding lands. He attacked and nearly destroyed Samarkand (*Sameskend*, the Sun City).[6] Himyaritic inscriptions were long found there, and Abul-feda has cited the beginning of one

[1] Cf. *Tour du Monde*, 1882, 2, p. 19. It is probably from this report that Dr. A. B. Meyer has derived his statement to the same effect, in *Die Nephrit frage Kein ethnologisches Problem*, p. 6, Berlin, 1883, and *The Nephrit question*. The American Anthropologist for July, 1888.

[2] According to Prof. J. Deveria, who is preparing them for publication (Nov. 17, 1893).

[3] It was seen in A.D. 982 by Wang Yen-teh, and it is spoken of in the records of the Ming period. Cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, ii. 178.

[4] Cf. for instance E. Bretschneider, *M. R.*, ii. 40.

[5] *Hou Han Shu.* De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, ii. 122.

[6] In Turkish according to Al Biruni. Cf. Sprenger, *Post und Reiserouten des Orientes*, 21.

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of those made by the Yemenite conqueror.[1] Afterwards Shammir perished with his army in the Tibetan desert, while attempting to make an invasion into China. To avenge the death of his grandfather, Tobba-ul-Akran, who occupied the throne of Yemen for about 50 years, from A.D. 90 to A.D. 140, marched and rebuilt Samarkand; carried war into China, where he founded a city which, according to Thaalebi (961–1038), was called El-Beit, and where he left a colony of 30,000 Arabs, who continued a distinct people when Hemedoun wrote in A.D. 553.[2] Of course China here can mean only that part of Chinese Turkestan which recognised the suzerainty of the Han dynasty. The historic literature of the middle kingdom neither proves nor disproves the Arabian contention, and rather favours it. Disturbances which occurred in the *Si-yü* on two occasions just correspond to the alleged circumstances. In the years 10–16 A.D. the States formerly acknowledging the Chinese suzerainty swerved from their allegiance for some unexplained reasons. Re-established in 73–98 by the famous general Pantchao, this authority was again thrown away in A.D. 107, because of wars raging in the *Si-yü*. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to see the Muznad script imitated in writings of the region (cf. below, §242).

237. The inscriptions discovered in Siberia are more numerous than was to be supposed, as shown by a complete review of the subject which appeared in 1884 by a Russian scholar,[3] the great collection of the *Inscriptions de l'Yénissei* published in fac-simile in 1889 by the Archæological Society of Helsingfors (with an introduction by Prof. J. R. Aspelin), the bronze mirrors and coins, and the dis-

[1] No remains of Himyaritic inscriptions from there has, I think, been seen by European scholars as yet. But we may expect to hear of such a discovery at any moment.

[2] Cf. A. Vambéry, *Bokhara*, p. 27. E. Balfour, *Cyclop. Ind.*, iii 512. The story of a colony founded by the Tobba in question, in China, and existing as late as A.D. 553, is perhaps a fable based upon the title Tobba, and the family name *To-pa* of the *Wei* dynasty, whose west branch existed as late as 557.

[3] W. de Yeuferow, *Etude sur les inscriptions Sibériennes*, pp. 109–150 of the *Mémoires de la Société des Etudes Japonaises Chinoises, Tartares et Indo-Chinoises*, 15 Juillet, 1884.

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coveries of inscriptions at Karakorum (the older) on the banks of the Orkhon by Mr. N. Yadrintzoff and other scholars since 1889. Since recent years the bibliography also proves to be extensive,[1] but it includes several important papers of difficult access for Western scholars.

These inscriptions may be classified into seven great divisions:

a) Pictorial, hieroglyphic, and symbolic, very numerous and of all dates and sorts, but generally rough and without any trace of systematization, altogether the work of uncultured people.

b) Symbolic, mixed of characters of various sources; perhaps *tamgas* of grazing lands (§ 234).

c) Ancient Chinese, cyclical characters which may have been inscribed at any former times (§ 32).

d) Characters of a tree-like class[2] (§§ 32, 35).

e) Pseudo-Runic characters, in several regions (§§ 239-242).

f) Uigur, Mongol,[3] Kalmuck (§§ 120, 123-130, 240).

[1] Besides the works quoted above, § 8, n. 1, and § 32, n. 4, cf. Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs*, St. Petersb. 1773-1778. G. Spassky, in *Sibirski Westnik*, 1818, transl. in Latin by Kroug in 1822, *De Antiquis*, etc. Remusat, *Journal des Savants*, 1822. Klaproth, *Mémoire sur quelques antiquités Sibériennes*, 1822; *Journal Asiatique*, 1823. Rommel, *Götting. gel. Anzeig.* 1823, n. 204. Humboldt, in Spassky, *Memoirs of the Imperial Society of Geography of Russia*, 1857, xii. Castren, *Reiseberichte und Briefe* aus den Jahren 1845-49. N. Popoff, On the Runic Inscriptions of the country of Minussinsk, p. 52, St. Petersburg, 1856; and in the *Annals of the Geographical Society of Siberia*, 1874, p. 100, the same scholar has published an elaborate study of the various writings of Central and Northern Asia, which I only know through the references made to it by Mr. W. de Yeuferow. Cf. also Arminius Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 38-42, etc.; V. de Mainof, *Gravures et Inscriptions sur pierres et rochers de la Sibérie Orientale:* Bullet. Société d'Anthropologie, 2nd ser., vol. xi. pp. 286 sq.; and the works quoted in the following notes.

[2] We have mentioned, *suprà* p. 25, the tree-alphabets of the Arabs. A manuscript of Saint Gall, written in the 10th century, after two Runic alphabets, enumerates and illustrates the five following: *Iis-runa*, made of perpendicular lines; *Lagoruna*, made of perpendicular lines with a hook at the right top; *Hahalruna*, with slanting lines on one or either side; *Stafruna*, made of dots; and *Clofruna*. Cf. Ph. Berger, *Histoire de l'Ecriture*, pp. 344-345. The inferior part of a bilingual inscription found at Harkness, Yorkshire, published by Stephens and by Hübner, is said by Berger to be written in the *Hahalruna* characters.

[3] Some of these may have been engraved by the soldiers of Tamerlane, who had ordered such inscriptions to be made when his army passed through Siberia. Cf. Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire de Timour Bec*, 1722; P. J. von Strahlenberg, *An historico-geographical description of the N. and E. parts of Europe and Asia*, pp. 376, 377.

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g) European and Arabic characters of the Middle Ages of various sorts.[1]

238. The inscriptions of the pseudo-Runiform class are those which deserve the greatest attention, as they belong to an extensive region. M. N. E. Popoff, in an elaborate study which he has made of the various writings of Northern and Central Asia, has expressed the opinion that these inscriptions do not come from the Uigurs, and that, being older than this people, they were the work of the Hakas. The Russian scholar has there adopted an hypothesis of Klaproth, who had suggested that the knowledge of Western characters may have been imported into Central Asia by the relations between the Hakas and the Khazars. M. N. E. Popoff insists on possible relations between the Hakas and the Goths, inventors of the Runes, who, in the fourth century, when they were evangelized by Ulphilas, and were taught by him the Gothic alphabet based upon Greek and Runic characters, were inhabiting in proximity of the Khazars the South of Russia. So that, according to this view, the Yenissei inscriptions, to which these remarks apply, would be older by several centuries than the Slavonic alphabet.[2]

239. The Hakas[3] referred to in the previous hypothesis could be only the western tribes of their race, if any, for the same people known as *Kieh-kuh*, *Kien-kuen*, *Hiah-kiah-se*, *Hoh-kuh-se* in the Chinese annals, or at least those of the East, in 648, are stated to have had exactly the same language and written characters as the Uigurs.[4] Now we already

[1] Cf. Strahlenberg, *o.c.*, pp. 378, 379.

[2] Cf. W. de Yeuferow, *Etude sur les Inscriptions Sibériennes*, l.c.

[3] Conquered in the west, a first time by the Hiung-nus about A.D. 44, a second time by Mokan the Turkish Khakan in 553–554, they were subdued a third time in the east for a few years by the *Sieh-yen-t'o* (revolted like themselves against their former masters the Turks) in 627, a fourth time in the west by the Western Turks in 638, and a fifth time in the east by the Uigurs in 758; at last in 840 they overthrew the latter's Empire and established their independence in the east.

[4] Cf. the *Tang shu*, kiv. 217*b*, fol. 13. They had sent an embassy to the Chinese court asking, like the Uigurs, for a Chinese protectorate. The Hakas seem to have been a cultivated race. To them is generally attributed the system of denominating the cycle of twelve with the names of animals, and it would be through their masters the Turks that the system was introduced in China in the sixth century, probably for the second time. The oldest, that I know, of the

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know that the Uigurs were in continuous possession of the art of writing since the fifth century, when they had learned it during their first stay in the region of *Kiu-sze* and *Kao-tchang*.[1] It was an adaptation of 14 characters from the Syriac, made apparently by the Buddhist missionaries[2] (§§ 120, 163, 165), and therefore cannot be the pseudo-Runic character. On the other hand we must remark that the *Hiah-kiah se* tribes in question were a mixed race, as shown by the duality of types met with to the present day among the Kirghizes, their modern representatives. Some of them were Samoyeds, as remarked already by Klaproth,[3] and there are philological reasons to believe the latter to have been once a civilized race,[4] a circumstance which would agree with the inference to the same effect which may be derived from the Chinese records.

many representations that were made of this cycle in China, occurs on the reverse of a coin or token issued in 580 at Tchang-ngan, by the NORTHERN TCHOU dynasty, who were then coquetting with the Turks, their troublesome neighbours. Cf. the fac-simile in *Ku tsiuen hwei* of Li Tso-hien, sect. tching v, fol. 4. J. Klaproth and Chr. L. Ideler had wrongly thought that the oldest was that dated in 622. Dr. G. Schlegel, *Uranographie Chinoise*, pp. 561–562, has collected some Chinese researches, which show that some knowledge of the animal cycle for omens existed as early as 672 B.C. (*Tso-tchuen*, Tchuang Kung, xxii. 3; *Chin. class.* v. 103, and perhaps earlier under the reign of Siuen wang of Tchou (826–781 B.C.) if the Ode *Kih-jeh* of the *Shi King* (Part ii. Bk. iii. Ode vi. *Chin. class* iv. 291) be rightly attributed to that reign. It may have been introduced by the Tchou themselves in China, as they seem to have belonged to that same race of Hakas-Kirghizes. Cf. my *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization*, p. 78, and add. 356.

[1] The various recits and legends concerning the origin of the Uigur race, which indicate the region of Karakorum as their cradle, refer also to a subsequent and early settlement in Kao-tchang. They reckoned thirty rulers for five hundred years before the T'ang dynasty, and at the time of Ba-rh-djud, one of their princes at the beginning of the thirteenth century, 970 years had elapsed since this first settlement in Kao-tchang, *i.e.* about 250 A.D. The writing known there later on was the *Hu* (Syriac) writing of 14 characters, a simplification which was adopted purposely to the limited phonetism of the language spoken there by the Buddhists, as shown by its common appellative of *Hu* writing of the *Si-yü*, and writing of the Brahmans, in the Annals of the Sui dynasty. *Suprà* 120, 165 and *infrà* 250.

[2] Buddhism was already established there about 400 A.D., as shown by the list of those who have worked to the Tripitaka in Chinese. Cf. Bunyu Nanjio, *Catalogue*, 410 (65), 412 (70), 414 (72). At Kwei-tze (Kucha) in 383, cf. *ibid.* 399 (44), 406 (59). At Khoten in 290, cf. *ibid.* 394 (26).

[3] In his *Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie.*

[4] Cf. the interesting remarks and suggestions of Mr. F. George Mohl, *Observations sur l'histoire des langues Sibériennes*: Mém. d. l. Société d. Linguistique d. Paris, 1892, f. vii. pp. 400–415. The late Prof. A. Ahlqvist, *Die Culturwörter der Westfinnischen Sprachen*, Helsingsfors, 1875, looked upon the Samoyeds as the civilizers of the Ugrians near the Ob. *Ibid.* p. 400.

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Now the country of the Hakas in the west, *i.e.* the *Kie-ku*, west of the Baïkal lake, had been conquered in 553-554 by the Khakan Turk Mokan[1] who was the great organizing and civilizing ruler of his race. We learn from the Chinese annals of the Northern Wei dynasty that the Turks, who at first had not any other writing than that of their masters the *Ju-juan* (*i.e.* notched sticks[2]) of whom they threw over the yoke in 539–545, were in possession of written characters in 556,[3] therefore just after their conquest of the Western country previously mentioned. And we know also that the Buddhists, the great writing-makers of Central Asia, were strangers to that progress, since their religion was not introduced amongst the Turks before the years 573–581.[4]

The historical circumstances seem therefore in favour of the view which makes the Hakas,[5] or any other people occupying the upper courses of the Ob[6] and Irtisch in 553–554 (should they have been then in possession of the pseudo-Runic script), the probable teachers of the Turks. But all the questions of origin of this writing remain at present matter of conjecture.[7]

240. The monumental remains of this script are numerous. They include the inscriptions discovered successively since 1709 in the basin of the Upper Yenissei,[8] those found near

[1] *Wei shu.* Stan. Julien, *Documents sur les Tou-kioue* (Turks): Journal Asiatique, Mars-Avril 1864, p. 331. Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. i. (2), 379, cf. 477.

[2] Cf. *suprà*, §§ 13, 27. *Wei shu. Sui shu.* Stan. Julien, *o.c.*, pp. 333, 351.

[3] *Wei shu*, which closes in 556. Stan. Julien, *o.c.*, p. 335.

[4] The Turks of the west were ignicoles (probably Manichæans), as shown by the testimonies of Zernarkh in Sogdiana in 569 (cf. Deguignes, *Hist.* i. (2), 386) and of Hiuen Tsang in 630 (cf. *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, tr. Beal, p. 43); those of the east were Shamanistes until their conversion to Buddhism after 573. In 570-576, the Emperor Hou Tchu of the northern Ts'i commanded Keng She-Ts'ing to translate the *Ni-pan King* into the Tukiuh language in order to send it to their Khan. (Cf. *Jeh tchih luh*, kiv. 29, fol. 24; G. Deveria, MS. note).

[5] Among recent scholars Yadrintzoff, Klements, Radloff, and Donner look upon the writing as older than the Hakas, without, however, any conclusive evidence.

[6] Selon une tradition, annotée par Messerschmidt chez les Ostiaques de l'Ob, le pays de ces derniers aurait été habité autrefois par une nation belliqueuse qui avait ses propres princes, ses propres villes, et son écriture à elle. J. R. Aspelin, *Inscriptions de l'Yénissei*. p. 7, col. 2.

[7] Mr. T. G. Mohl, l.c, favours the view that the writing was that of Samoyeds, and therefore of Haka tribes.

[8] Thirty-two inscriptions of which ectypes or photographs have been made for the purpose were published (sometimes overturned) in 1889. *Inscriptions*

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the lake Tsaisan, and those found since 1889 in the region of Karakorum in N.E. Mongolia.[1] Among them are some bilingual monuments, viz., one Chinese and Runiform of

de l'Yénissei, recueillies et publiées par la Société Finlandaise d'Archéologie, Helsingfors, fol. (with an introduction, pp. 3–17, by Prof. J. R. Aspelin), edited by Prof. O. Donner. On these inscriptions, cf. Wl. de Yeuferow, *Sur un déchiffrement des Inscriptions Sibériennes par le Japonais* (by Prof. Campbell, of Montreal); Mém. Soc. Et Japon., 15th April, 1885, pp. 138–141. J. R. Aspelin, *Ueber die vorgeschichtlichen Inschriften im Gebiete von Minussinsk*, Globus, 1886, li. 382; also *Oestl. Rundschau*, 1887, No. 1314; *Die Yenissei Inschriften*, Zeitschr. f. Ethnol. 1889, xxi. 744–6; favours more than 2000 years of antiquity for these inscriptions. Dr. Isaac Taylor, *The Yenissei Inscriptions* (their Runic affinity); The Academy, Oct 12, 1889, p. 241. Aug. Totterman, *Entzifferung einiger Inschriften auf einer Felsenwand bei Suljek (Ostsibirien)*, 1888; *Studien über die Suljekfelsen-Inschriften, Das Suljek Alphabet*, 1889, 3 pl., Helsingfors; Repr. Ofversigt af Finska Vet. Soc. Förhandlingar, f. xxxi. (Comparisons with Semitic alphabets.) H. Grenman, *Zur Frage der Ostsiberischen Inschriften*, ibid. xxix. 4 pp. O. Donner, *Die Felsinschrift bei Suljek*, ibid. 5 pp.; *The Tomb Inscriptions on the Upper Yenissei*, Eighth Oriental Congress, 1889. According to the author, in its exterior arrangement the script agrees with that in vogue among the non-Semitic tribes in Asia Minor and Greece about four or five centuries B.C. An examination of the characters leads up to the same result, there being corresponding forms to most of them in the Alphabets of Asia Minor derived from the Greek; it is most especially the Lycian and Karian Alphabets which present most analogies. Cf. Trübner's Record, Nov. 1889. Prof. George Stephens, *The Inscriptions of Yenissei*. The Acad., Nov. 30, 1889, says that they are supposed to date from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D.; the letters chosen by some sage from Old Etruscan, Old Greek, and Old Northern Runes. Rob. Brown, jun., *The Yenissei Inscriptions*. The Academy, Feb. 8, 1890, i.; March 22, ii.; June 28, iii.; and Sept. 20. Babylonian and Oriental Record, Sept. 1890, vol. iv. pp. 231–238; April 1891, vol. v. pp. 73–78. The author has translated several inscriptions as Mongol and Uigur of about 1300 A.D.; the letters Runic and Etruscan. John Abercrombie, *Note on the Yenissei Inscriptions*, B. & O. R., Feb. 1891, vol. v. pp. 25–30; from a comparative statistic of the letters employed, the author concludes that the language of the Yenissei inscriptions is neither Turkish nor Mongolian of the last Millenium.

[1] Cf. Nicolas Yadrintzoff, *Résultats de son exploration Archéologique dans la Mongolie Occidentale au sud du lac Baïkal et aux sources de l'Orkhon*: Bull. Soc. Antiq. d. France, 1890, pp. 225 sq. *Discoveries in Mongolia, The Travels of Yadrintzoff and Radloff*, 1889–91: B. & O. R. 1892. *Anciens caractères trouvés sur des pierres de taille et des Monuments au bord du Orkhon dans la Mongolie Orientale*, par l'expedition de M. N. Yadrintzoff en 1889. St. Petersbourg, 1889, 21 pp. autogr. G. Deniker, *Notes sur les Inscriptions du Yénissei*: T'oung pao, ii. 3, p 232. G. Deveria, *Inscriptions Sibériennes*: C. R. Acad. Inscr. 1891, xviii. 448–458; *Inscriptions recueillies à Karakoroum, Relevé des différents signes* (89) *figurant dans les copies rapportées par M. Yadrintzoff*: T'oung pao, 1890, i.; *Notes on the Yenissei and Karakorum Script*: B. & O. R., June, 1891, v. 121–127. *La stèle funéraire de Kiuch Teghin, Notice de Yeluhch'ou* (*xiii^e siècle*), Extraite de l'ouvrage intitulé *Choang Ki-tsoue-in-tsi*: T'oung pao, 1891, ii. 229–231. *Observations sur l'Ecriture Turke-Altaique, la stèle de Geuk Teghin* (A.D. 731), *et l'emplacement de Kara-Koroum*: C. R. Acad. Inscr. 1891, xix. 365–368. T. de L., *Additional Notes on the Yenissei and Karakorum Script*: B. & O. R., 1891, v. 127–131. O. Donner, *Wörterverzeichniss zu den Inscriptions de l'Yénissei*, Helsingfors, 1892, 69 pp. *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, recueillies par l'expédition Finnoise, 1890, et publiées par la Société Finnoise-Ougrienne, Helsingfors, 1892 (including chapters by A. Heikel, G. v. d. Gabelentz, G. Deveria, O. Donner). W. Radloff, *Atlas der Alterthümer der Mongolei*, St. Petersburg, 1892. *La stèle funéraire du Tegin Giogh* et ses

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A.D. 731,[1] and others Uigur and pseudo-Runiform of the second part of the eighth century. Two bilingual coins, Chinese and pseudo-Runic, which may have been issued after 621 or in 841-846, have been discovered near Minussinsk.[2] The first date or a little afterwards is more probable than the second. They include also the inscription silver cups found in Perm, notably that of Vyatka which was communicated in 1889 by Prof. O. Donner to the Finno-Ugrian Society of Helsingfors. Its importance is very great because of the geographical connection it establishes with the Runic lands.

241. The number of characters, too numerous for a Turko-Tartar language, is about forty[3]; they are a lapidary and not a cursive writing, the signs are stiff and isolate with a

copistes et traducteurs Chinois, Russes et Allemands, Helsingfors, 1892. Dr. Georg Huth, *Die Inschrift von Karakorum:* Eine Untersuchung über ihre Sprache und die Methode ihrer Entzifferung, Berlin, 1892 (autog. 25 pp.), had suggested the presence of prefixes and suffixes in the inscribed texts, but Prof. O. Donner, *Inscriptions*, p. xlviii. and Dr. W. Radloff, *Atlas*, pref., have rejected the suggestion.

[1] Cf. the paper by Mr. E. Koch referred to in note to § 249 below; and the articles and communications of Prof. Deveria in the preceding note.

[2] Cf. J. R. Aspelin, *Die Yenissei Inschriften* l.c.; T. de L., *Additional Notes*, l.c.; E. Drouin, *La Monnaie bilingue de Minoussinsk*, Bull. d. Numism. Mars, 1892, pp. 133, 135. Prof. Aspelin indicates the date of 841-846, which is the period when large issues of the *Kai-yuen tung pao* (which is that of the bilingual coin) were made with the bronze spoiled from the Buddhist temples and monasteries, bearing on the obverse the names of the 29 Mints where they were cast. But they were slightly smaller in size. Mr. Ed. Drouin would prefer the years 713-742, but no *Kai-yuen* coins were issued by the Chinese at that time. The pattern of the coin in question shows that it was actually cast from the Chinese model of 621, which remained until 656. It may have been issued by or under the influence of the Chinese rebel, General Liang-sze-tu, who proclaimed himself Emperor of Liang in 617, and accepted from the Turks the title of *Ta-tu pi-kia khakan;* after some compromise with the founder of the T'ang dynasty (perhaps an authorization of issuing money like the three others who received such a permission) he withdrew from China to the court of *Kie-li Khakan*, the supreme Khan of the Turks, with whom he was still in 626. Cf. *Li tai Ti Wang nien piao*, s.a.; Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, i. (2), 415, 417, 426; De Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, v. 540. Cf. also on the titles my monograph: *Khan, Khakan, and other Tartar titles*, 15 pp. Dec. 1888. Or these coins may have been issued in 639, when the Chinese Emperor restored the authority of the Khakan of the Turks and appointed *Asena-semo* with the title of *Y mi-ni-shu-se-li pi-kan* (Y Manjuçri?) to the throne. Cf. Deguignes, *o c.*, i. (2) 438. But an objection is that the two pseudo-Runic words on the reverse of the coin are graffitti and were not made under the supervision of clever minters, as would have been the case in the latter circumstance.

[3] The analysis of the Yenissei characters shows, by the list published in the great collection of Helsingfors, about 44 characters in 140 variants; that of the Karakorum inscription made by Prof. Deveria gives from 38 to 42 characters in 92 variants. Let us remark that in Samoyed there are 33 consonants and nine vowels.

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general appearance of runes. The inscriptions often follow the general disposition of the latter, being inscribed all round the stones lengthwise. Forms similar to those of the runes are all there, and their number has been completed as if from other ancient characters, with an admission of Eastern forms from Bactria. It is to be hoped that the decipherment of the inscriptions, which cannot fail to be achieved very soon, will throw some light on the subject, and let us know if this writing were not developed northwards of Ferghana by the Manichæans for their new converts the Hakas and the Turks, or if it were made in similar condition as the Mœso-Gothic, in the fourth century, or earlier, in the west, as the existence in Perm would suggest.

242. On Dec. 15, 1893, Prof. Dr. Vilh. Thomsen, of Copenhagen, read a paper before the Royal Academy of Denmark, in which he claims to have found the clue to decipher these inscriptions.[1] Starting from the proper names and titles disclosed by the Chinese side of the bilingual texts, the author states that he has been able to reconstitute the alphabet of thirty-eight characters (four vowels and thirty-four consonants). The direction of the writing is from top to bottom, and then from left to right (as a Semitic script turned up to left). The author did not make any speculation on the origin of the writing, and said only that there are some resemblances with the Semitic-Pehlvi alphabet.

Curiously enough phonetic values and shapes of the signs suggest that this writing was imitated from Muznad-Himyaric and from Karoshti-Indo-Bactrian characters. On the other hand the refinement of the phonetic system suggests a higher class than a Tartar language for the requirements that the makers of the writing had in view.

243. Menander Protector[2] in the sixth century spoke of the Scythic letters, which have also been referred to by later writers, until their history was written in 1864 by

[1] *Déchiffrement des Inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Yénissei*, Notice Préliminaire. Copenhagen, 1894. 15 pp. Cf. G. Schlegel, *T'oung-pao*, Mai, 1894, pp. 171–4; T. de L., *B. and O. R.*, Dec. 1893, pp. 94–5.

[2] *Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantinæ*, Bonn, 1829, i. 298. ". . . *tò grámma tò Skydikòn*."

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Prof. Ch. Rabó, of the University of Kolozsvar. But their remains are so few and far between that their existence has even been doubted. Thanks to the protracted researches of Prof. P. Király de Dada, of Budapest, we are now in complete possession of this interesting alphabet,[1] which is called *Hunno-Scythic*, and which contains thirty-two letters. We must confess, however, that the assimilation assumed between this alphabet and the writing spoken of by Menander is not a demonstrated fact.

244. The Manichæans had a writing of their own of *thirty-two* characters,[2] which must have been spread with their religion. Their founder, Cubricus, was flayed alive in A.D. 277, and his doctrines, which he had himself begun to preach in the East, spread extensively in the after centuries. He made his alphabet from Syrian or Palmyrenian and Persian,[3] and it was still used in the time of Abul Faradj (897-967) by the inhabitants of Transoxiana and Samarkand for their religious books.[4]

245. Numismatists deal with a part of the material evidence of history, whose testimony it is hardly necessary to say is of first importance in palæographical research. Although much confusion remains uncleared about the history of West Turkestan, East Iran and Kabulistan, M. Ed. Drouin,[5] who has successfully carved for himself a high authority in this difficult field of research, has been able to enumerate no less

[1] I am indebted to Prof. Király for these informations and a copy of the alphabets which he sent me on the 26th Oct., 1889, and for which I beg to offer him all my thanks. Since then the Babylonian and Oriental Record, 1892, vi. pp. 227-236, has published an illustrated article by the same scholar, *Researches in Hunno-Scythic*, where the alphabets are given.

[2] Mâni, however, arranged his gospel, the *Shâbûrkân*, according to the twenty-two letters of the Alphabet. Cf. Albîrûnî, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. Ed. Sachau, 1879, pp. 121, 190.

[3] Cf. on this writing: Epiphany (De Sacy), O.S. 121; Follü *Insign. itiner. Ital.*, p. 142; *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Manichäismus.* Aus dem Fihrist des Abul Faradsch; v. O. Flügel, Leipzig, 1862, pp. 166 sq., where the alphabet of 31 or 32 characters is given. They are seen, however, through a Persian calam.

[4] Abul Faradj says that the Marcionites have also a character, peculiar to themselves, similar to the Manichæan.

[5] Cf. Ed. Drouin, *Remarques sur les Monnaies frappées dans les premiers siècles de notre ère par les Princes Touraniens.* J.A., Jan.-Févr. 1891, pp. 143-150; *Les Monnaies Touraniennes*, Revue Numismatique, 1891, 11 pp.; *Monnaies Turco-Chinoises*, ibid. 1891, pp. 454-473.

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than nine different alphabets, used simultaneously from the third to the seventh century of our era, and borrowed, save the *Indo-Scythic*, from the Iranian or Indian populations amongst whom lived the Turanians who issued the coinages evidencing them. The list of these scripts is the following:—

1) *Indo-Scythic*, *Indo-Kushan*, or *Græco-Kushan*, derived from the Greek and used by the Yueh-ti Kushan kings of North India.

2) *Pehlvi-Scythic*, of the Sassanians, derived in the fifth century from the monumental Pehlvi.[1]

3) *Irano-Scythic*, of unknown (although ultimately Semitic) origin, which appears in the fourth century in East Iran and North-west India.[2]

4) *Khovarazmian*, of the Kushan princes, contemporary of the last Arsacides and first Sassanians (third century A.D.) and fire-worshippers.

5) *Sogdian*, of the Ephthalites of the fifth century, and of the Turks of the sixth and seventh centuries, ruling still at Bokhara in 666 A.D. (Arabian conquest).[3]

6) Unnamed, Tartar coins of Bokhara.[4]

7) *Indo-Parthian*, derived from Pehlvi.[5]

8) Aramœan on coins of the Yueh-ti or of the Saka in the first century.[6]

9) Another script also of Aramœan derivation, on coins belonging probably to the Sassanian period.

246. Four more scripts are found on the coinages of West and Upper Asia:—

10) An Aramœan script on Sogdian coins issued after Alexander.[7]

[1] Cf. Ed. Thomas, *Comments on Recent Pehlvi decipherments*, J.R.A.S., 1871. Ed. Drouin, in *Revue Numismatique*, 1890, p. 358.

[2] Cf. Ed. Drouin, *Notice sur quelques Monnaies bilingues Sassanides*, Revue Numismatique, 1890.

[3] Cf. P. Lerch, *Sur les Monnaies des Boukhâr-Khoudas*, suprà, § 171. Ed. Thomas, *Bilingual Coins of Bokhara*, 1881 (Numismatic Chronicle, vol. i.).

[4] Cf. W. Tiesenhausen, *Collection Stroganoff*, 1880, pl. 1. Ed. Thomas, *Bilingual Coins*, p. 7.

[5] Cf. Ed. Thomas, *Indo-Parthian Coins*, J.R.A.S. 1870, vol. ix. 503 sq.

[6] Described by Sir Alexander Cunningham, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1889, vol. xiii. Nos. 13 and 16.

[7] Still unpublished, but deciphered by M. Ed. Drouin (Lettre, Jan. 28, 1894).

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11) The *Kharoshti* or Indo-Bactrian on Indo-Scythian coins.[1]

12) An unknown script on Turko-Chinese coins of the seventh or eighth centuries.[2]

13) The pseudo-Runic script incised on Chinese coins of the same date.[3]

247. The geographical repartition of the various systems of writing in Central Asia and the Tarym valley, in the fifth and sixth centuries, which was most remarkable, may be resumed with advantage into a few co-ordinated statements.

The Sanskrit alphabet introduced in Khoten in the first century of our era (§ 159) had been spread with slight variants in the sixth century, — to Yarkand (*Tchü-ku-po*, § 160), Kashgar (*Kie-sha*), Khavandha (*K'ie-pan-t'o*), Osh Turfan (*Usha*), Aksu and Bai (*Kumo*), Kucha (*Kwei-tze*, *Kutche*, § 168), and Karashar (*Akini*, *Yen-ki*),[4] as stated by the Buddhist pilgrims, Sung-yun in 528[5] and Hiuen-tsang in 629-639;[6] therefore round the basin of the Tarym, and eastwards as far as Karashar, where the Chinese travellers used to notice a change in the physical type of the inhabitants, who hence to the west had sunken eyes and long noses.

248. Eastward of Karashar, the Syriac writing had made

[1] Cf. Percy Gardner, *Indian Coins*, *Greek and Scythic Kings*, 1886. Sir A. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, 1888.

[2] Cf. Ed. Drouin, *Monnaies Turco-Chinoises*, l.c.

[3] On two coins in the Museum of Minussinsk, published in O. Donner, *Wörterverzeichniss zu den Inscriptions de l'Yénissei*, p. 65, Nos. 25, 40. And *suprà*, § 240 and note.

[4] *Peh She*. *Tai ping yü lan*, kiv. 795, fol. 4 *v*.

[5] Long previously Fah-hien, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, in A.D. 400, reported that at *Shen-shen* (Tchertchen) Buddhist books and the Indian language were used by those who professed Buddhism. Cf. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, i. xxiv.

[6] The Chinese statements have been lately confirmed by the discovery in the ruins of the buried cities of Kashgaria, at Mingai, near Kuchar, on the banks of the Shayar river, of a Sanskrit MS., on birch bark, which has been brought back by Capt. Bower (*Proc. Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, Nov. 1890). Its date has been ascribed to the fifth century, and it is partly written in the Gupta characters. G. Bühler, *The new Sanskrit MS. from Mingai* (or Bower MS.), J.R.A.S., 1891, pp. 689–94; A. F. Rud. Hoernle, *On the date of the Bower Manuscript*, J.A.S.B. lx. 70–96, etc. Some more manuscripts have been discovered (cf. G. Bühler, *New Manuscripts from Kashgar*) of the same period. M. Dutreuil de Rhins' expedition in High Asia has sent to the Académie des Inscriptions (Jan. 12, 1894) a MS. in an unknown language written on bark.

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its appearance in the fifth century,[1] and a system of fourteen characters, selected, as we have seen, apparently by Buddhist writing-makers,[2] had been adaptated to the limited phonetism of the Turko-Tartar languages there spoken, and therefore should better be called Syro-Tartar, in preference to the denomination of Uigur generally used and ascribed to it in the previous chapters of the present work. The first place, coming from the west, where it was established was *Kiu-sze*, otherwise *Tche-sze* or Kao-tchang, where the Uigurs learned it, before c. 440 A.D., *i.e.* before their withdrawal in N.E. Mongolia, which happened at that time as a result of the conquest and occupation of their country by Wu Wei of the Sino-Tartar dynasty of the Northern Liang.[3] The Syro-Tartar writing spread, as previously noticed,[4] among the Sino-Tartar dynasty of the Northern Wei, the Tuh-kiueh-hun, and later on through the Uigurs among the Eastern Turks.

249. The exact antecedents of the Syro-Tartar characters amongst the writings of the Syriac class were the same as those which the Syrian Christians carried with them to the east and which were derived from the Estranghelo. This may be seen when comparing the Nestorian part of the famous inscription of *Si-ngan-fu* erected in 781[5] with that which has been discovered lately at Kara Balgasun in N.E. Mongolia and belongs to the same epoch.[6] Slight

[1] A Patera of debased Greek Art has been found in Badakshan with a Syro-Uigur inscription.

[2] This inference comes from the name of Brahman writing, which is also given to this writing in 14 characters. Cf. *suprà*, §§ 165, 250.

[3] Cf. Deguignes, *Histoire des Huns*, i. (1), 224, 302.

[4] Cf. *suprà*, §§ 120, 162–164, 237.

[5] On which cf. *suprà*, § 121. Le Roux des Hauterayes savant orientaliste du siècle dernier, prit ces caracterès (de l'inscription de Singan fu) pour *modèles* de *l'estranghelo* qu'il fit graver dans les *alphabets Orientaux* de l'Encyclopédie de *Petity*. G. Pauthier, *De la Réalité et de l'Authenticité de l'Inscription Chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*, 1857, p. 21. At the instance of the *China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* of Shanghaï, the Chinese Government has taken some measures for the preservation of this monument. Cf. *The preservation of the Nestorian tablet and other Ancient Monuments at Si-an fu*, J. Ch. Br. R.A.S., 1890, xxv. pp. 130–139. This is undoubtedly an outcome of the movement of 1886 reported *suprà*, pp. 83–85.

[6] It has been published by Mr. E. Koch in the *Zapisky* of the Russian Society of Archæology, 1891, t. v., pp. 147–156, and translated by Prof. W. Radloff in the same magazine, pp. 265–270. Mr. E. Koch's paper has been translated into

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differences bear on a few characters, such as on the *m*, but the general resemblance is otherwise so close that their common origin cannot be denied, while the discrepancies may be partly attributed to the fact that the inscription in Mongolia is more cursive than the other.[1] We may therefore be certain that the Syrian Christians had begun to spread eastwards in the first years of the fifth century. Traditions amongst the Nestorians ascribed that spread to the Katholikos St. Agheos, who died in A.D. 411.[2] As the Buddhists established themselves at *Kiu-sse=Kao-tchang* about that time, they would certainly have introduced there for current purposes an Indian writing, as they had done in the various towns of the Tarym basin; and the fact that, instead of doing so, they have used the Syriac characters or *Hu* writing is pretty conclusive that it existed before them.

250. The oldest description which we may repeat here of the Syro-Tartar writing under the double designation of *Hu*[3] and Brahman writing is given in the Annals of the SUI dynasty (A.D. 582-618), where it is said to consist of fourteen characters.[4] Ahmed-ben-Arabshah, in his history of Timur quoted by Klaproth, says also that the Uigur writing con-

French: *T'oung pao*, Juin, 1890, pp. 113–124; into English: *On two stones with Chinese Inscriptions*, epitomized by E. Delmar Morgan, *J.R.A.S.*, 1891, pp. 451–456. The date of the bilingual inscription, Sino-Uigur, is approximately known by some names mentioned therein: *I-nan tchuo*, who was still living in A D. 821, and a Uigur Khakan whose titles are the same as the ruler of 795–805, as I have shown in my note on *Chinese-Uigur documents from Kara-Balgasun*, B. & O. R., June, 1891, vol. v. p. 143. Dr. G. Schlegel, *Notes sur les inscriptions Chinoises de Kara-Balgasun*, T'oung pao, *l.c.*, pp. 125, 126, had suggested the ruler of 780–789, but his titles differ.

[1] On the Uigur writing from Chinese sources, cf. G. Deveria, *Alphabet Ouigour, Notice de Thao-tsong-y* (XIV^e siècle), *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1884, f. ii. pp. 287, 288 (pl.). The Uigur alphabet has been the historical basis of the Mongol, Mandshu, and Kalmuck writings, as explained *suprà*, §§ 125–130. Cf. also J. Euting, *Tabula scripturæ Uigiricæ, Mongolicæ, Mandshuricæ*, Strasburg, 1891. Fred. Müller, *Zur frage über den Ursprung der Uigurisch-Mongolisch-Mandžurischen Schrift*, Z.K.M., Wien, v. 182–184.

[2] Cf. J. S. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, f. iii. part 1, 346.

[3] The *Fung su tung* of the second century A.D. says that the *Hu* at the time of the *Han* were branches of the Jung mountaineers. The *Tsin tchung hing shu* of about 500 A.D. says that *hu* is a name for all the northern barbarians (Y). Cf. *Tai ping yü lan*, kiv. 799, fol. 1. It applies properly to the bearded races of Turkestan and W. Asia; their beard being contemptuously compared to a dewlap (*hu*).

[4] *Sui shu*, kiv. 35. And *suprà*, § 165.

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tained only fourteen consonants,[1] the diacritic marks for the vowels being out of the reckoning. This double statement makes difficult any misunderstanding on the identification of the writing and its continuity since the fifth century, when the Uigurs learned it at Kao-tchang. A peculiarity of this script is that in the case of eight letters—*b*, *o*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *i*, *z*, *t*—the central line or stem passes without interruption to the following, while for the other six—*g*, *t*, *m* fin., *n* fin., *i* fin. and *r*—the central line is interrupted and the letter is more like an ornament. We find it described in the Chinese notice before cited, where the eight central lined letters are called *ti* and the six curved ones *wen*.[2]

251. The Mongols, who until the twelfth century had no knowledge of writing, endeavoured to make up for deficiency, as in a little more than a century they had learned no less than five different writings, viz.: *Uigur*, A.D. 1200[3] (§ 126); *Uigur-Mongol* in 1251 (§ 127); *Bagspa* in 1269 (§ 110); *Istifi* in 1289, which we notice hereafter; and *Mongol* (so-called) in 1311 (§ 128).

252. In 1289, a memorial to the Throne submitted the desirability of making use of the *ih-sse-t'i-fei* written characters. A member of the *Han-lin* Academy named *I-fuh-tih O-lu-ting* ('Ala-eddin ?), well acquainted with this writing, was appointed to the directorship of a college created for its

[1] J. Klaproth, *De l'Ecriture Ouigoure*, trad. in *Archives Paleographiques*, 1870, p. 83. The Syriac character was written in vertical columns from left to right, as stated *supra*, § 123. Numerous proofs of the fact have now come to the front. Cf. Ed. Sachau, *Edessenische Inschriften*, Z. f. D.M.G., 1882, f. xxxvi. pp. 142–167; J. Euting, *Epigraphische Miscellen*, Stzb. Ak. Berlin, 12th May, 1887; Ph. Berger, *Histoire de l'Ecriture*, pp. 284–287.

[2] *Sui shu*, kiv. 32, fol. 36; 與八體六文之義殊別 Abel de Remusat, *Recherches sur les langues Tartares*, pp. 6, 294–5, who had rightly identified this 14-character script with the Uigur writing, could not understand that passage, which he fancied was a confusion. Later scholars thought that it was fatal to the identification, but the explanation I propose simplifies the matter.

[3] After the expulsion of the Mongols from China, their secret history, the *Yuan tchao pih she*, which had been written in Uigur characters in 1240, was the occasion of a curious literary feat. Shortly after 1382 the full text of this work was transliterated in Chinese characters used phonetically, and a translation into Chinese was also made, so that the work existed in three texts: (1) Uigur; (2) phonetic Chinese; and (3) Chinese. Cf. H. H. Howorth, *Two early sources of Mongol history*, J.R.A.S., vol. xv. n.s.

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teaching.[1] The *Yuan she lei pien* reports that in 1314 the Emperor Jen-tsung re-established the *Hwei-hu* (or Persian) Academy. "The characters *Hwei-hu* were convenient for the seals and for mathematics. In 1289 had been created the *Hwei-hwei* college. The Emperor had ordered that the sons of officials and rich families should go there to study those written characters, which were called also *Ih-sze-ti-fei*. It was this institution which Jen-tsung re-established." [2]

Abel Remusat was the first who ventured an explanation of the word *istifi*, and compared it to *istifal*, meaning "to cast lots." [3] G. Pauthier without quoting this suggestion thought simply that it referred probably to an Arabic writing.[4] The two scholars were on the right track, as shown by the second statement of the Chinese sources, where it is stated that the *istifi* characters were also called *Hwei-Hwei*, or Arabo-Persian. In Constantinople[5] *istifi* characters are, or were, used for the financial administration and perhaps also for astronomy.

253. Among the monuments of Siberian palæography may be reckoned the inscriptions on the reverse of mirrors in bell-metal, of which specimens exist in collections, and which were spoken of and illustrated by Strahlenberg in 1709. He said that many hundreds of such mirrors are found in the graves. The region he speaks of is that between the rivers Irbyht and Toboll, on the west of Tobolsk, and he says that the Tartars call them *Tzahar-Inæ*.[6] There are at least three patterns known of them.[7] The characters are

[1] *Tze hioh tien*. G. Pauthier, *De l'Alphabet de Pa-sse-pa*, pp. 20, 21. *Suh wen hien t'ung kao*, kiv. 47, f. 20.

[2] *Yuan she lei pien*, kiv. 10, f. 5 (tr. G. Deveria).

[3] *Recherches sur les Langues Tartares*, p. 196.

[4] *De l'Alphabet de Pa-sse-pa*, p. 20, n. 3. The various styles of the Arabic writing as enumerated and illustrated in Carl Faulmann, *Illustrirte Geschichte der Schrift*, are the following: (1) Kufic; (2) Karmatic (N. Arabia); (3) Maghreb (N. Africa); (4) Neskhi; (5) Tülüt; (6) Djerisi; (7) Taalik (Persia); (8) Rika'a; (9) Dirrani (Turkey); (10) Djeri; (11) Kalemirasd; (12) Syakat.

[5] According to Mr. Charles Shefer, in a MS. note of Prof. G. Deveria.

[6] P. J. von Strahlenberg, *An historico-geographical description*, pp. 408, 409. "This plate . . . like the former, had only characters on one side, the other being blank, and finely polished; there is in the middle . . . a knob with a hole through it, in the nature of a loop. . . . ."

[7] So far as is possible to judge from the Chinese forgeries. Some of these imitations are sometimes found in Chinese illustrated works on antiquities. For instance in the *Kih Kin tchi*, kiv. iv. fol. 28.

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arranged in one or two circular rows—an inner circle of eight symbols and an outer circle of twenty-two, which is often alone.[1] The characters are partly Chinese and partly derived from Chinese, while others are unknown.[2] Some of these mirrors have found their way into China, and have been imitated approximately by Chinese false coiners for collectors. The matter requires the attention of antiquarians.

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254. Another seal of the same writing as before has lately been again found in the ruins of Harappa.[3] It belongs apparently, from the regular forms of the characters, to a later period than the first, and the symbols also are similar to those preserved in the Lolo writing. The matter is important with reference to the origin of the Indian writing. Cf. §§ 156-158, as suggesting a common descent from Chinese elements.

255. The Lolo MS., which exists in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Shanghaï, has been described briefly by Mr. W. Mesny, in a letter from Kuei hien in Kuang-si, 16th July, 1883.[4] The writer says that it contains illustrations, and is written from top to bottom in columns, as is the Chinese, only beginning on the left of the page (as in Mongol and Mandchu).

In a curious work[5] recently published, three figures of a dragon, two of which are accompanied by Lolo characters, have been reproduced from a MS. in Shanghaï, rightly supposed to be Lolo,[6] and probably the same as the above.

[1] They may have been made for soothsaying purposes. I had thought of the *Kara-Khitai*, the *Si-Liao* of the Chinese, established in West Central Asia (1125-1202) after the fall of the Kitan Empire in China, but their dominion was more south than the region where these mirrors are found. The makers of these mirrors had undoubtedly learned their art in China.

[2] Cf. A. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, l.c.

[3] *Old Seals found at Harappa*, by Mr. Longworth Dames, in *The Indian Antiquary*, January, 1886, vol. xv. p. 1.

[4] *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1884, vol. ii. pp. 582, 583.

[5] *Mythical Monsters*, by Charles Gould (London, 1886, 8vo), pp. 256–258.

[6] Mr. Ch. Gould, p. 257, says: "The rude diagrams are facsimiles from a manuscript of folio size in the possession of J. Haas, Esq., Imperial Austro-Hungarian Vice-Consul for Shanghaï, which he kindly placed at my disposal.

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256. A fragment of writing, rather loosely traced on paper by an inexperienced hand, and most likely Lolo, has come from some unexpected quarter, namely Upper Assam, where it had been brought from Sadiya in the Mishmi country. On the reverse of the paper are some scribblings of confused English writing.[1]

257. Another MS., one of importance, in Lolo writing, has lately arrived at the British Museum.[2] It covers seventy-three folios, small folio size, and appears to be an epic poem, written in lines of five characters to a line, with occasional illuminations of symbolical birds and animals. The few first and last folios are considerably damaged, and the paper is much discoloured. This, however, is probably due rather to careless keeping than to age; as a Chinese letter which was found between two of the folios, and the paper of which has an equally stained and weather-beaten appearance, is dated 1836. This MS. was procured from a Lolo chieftain in Western Kueitchou.[3] The writing is clear, and the characters well formed, showing that the scribe had a better acquaintance with his native writing than those of other Lolo MSS. we have mentioned above.[4]

258. The beautiful Lolo MS. sent by Mr. E. Colborne Baber, and which I have formerly described, displays a Tibetan influence.[5] At the end of the reverse side of the MS., reddish side, are two stanzas of four verses each, which are apparently the *K'a-skóng* of the Tibetan copyists of books, namely, a short prayer consisting usually of a

This unique volume is at present, unfortunately, unintelligible. It comes from the western confines of China, and is believed to be an example of the written Lolo language, that is, of the language of the aboriginal tribes of China." The latter statement is rather inexact, as the Lolos were always confined to the western part only of China, and aborigines of other races were settled in other parts.

[1] Mr. R. T. Greer, C.S., of Shillong, Assam, 25 Nov., 1885, writing to Mr. E. Baber, at Sëul, in Corea, says: "This curious paper has come to me from Sadiya. It travelled, it is said, from far inland, having been carried to our border by an Abor from the other side of the Abor land." I am indebted to the kindness of Col. H. Yule, President R.A.S., for the communication of Mr. Baber's letter, dated Sëul, 1 Feb., 1886, containing tracings of the above sheet of paper.

[2] Presented by Mr. Bourne, at the same time as the Shui-kia MS. mentioned above, § 176.

[3] Note from Prof. R. K. Douglas (15 Oct., 1886).

[4] Cf. above, § 38.

[5] *On a Lolo MS. Written on Satin* (*Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.* 1882, vol. xvi.).

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stanza of four verses, which they are accustomed to write down and recite after having finished the copy of a work, in order to make amends for the mistakes they may have committed.[1]

259. It was known from the ancient missionaries that Lolo tribes of Yunnan had a writing which was apparently the same as that of Pegu and Ava[2] (*i.e.* the Burmese character). But on this occasion the name Lolo must be taken in its general and vague sense, as it does not apply to the Lolos of the above manuscripts and writings.

260. Data are still wanting to ascertain with precision the history of the Lolo writing, but we are aware that some books and inscriptions in N.E. Yunnan existed in that writing among the 爨 蠻 Tsuan Man, which reckoned among them many Lolo tribes in the third century A.D.[3]

It is recorded that a bilingual inscription, in Chinese and Lolo characters, had been set up in A.D. 9 by the native King at Luh-liang, in the prefecture of Kiu-tsing. The descriptions of the writing are various. According to one authority this people had sacred books of their own in Tsuan characters similar to the *Ko-tou* (*i.e.* most archaic) Chinese writing. And as it was stated in the aforesaid inscription that they, or at least their ruler, was the descendant of a *Pan* family from Ts'u, the southernmost state, half-sinicised, of the Chinese confederation, the Chinese descent of the elements of their writing is thus far historically indicated.[4]

261. Some more precise information is given in the topography of Kai-hua fu (S.E. Yunnan), and also casually in that of Teng-yueh tchou[5] (S.W. Yunnan), about the beginnings of this writing. They report that "O-kou or O-ting, a descendant of Nakoutsiu, was, at the time of the Han dynasty, inhabiting Ma-lung tchou in Kiuh-tsing fu

[1] Cf. the word *K'a-skóng* in H. Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 24.
[2] Cf. L'Abbé Grosier, *Description de la Chine*, vol. i. Adrien Balbi, *Atlas ethnographique du globe*, No. 113.
[3] Cf. *Miao man hoh tchi*, bk. 2, ff. 1–4. *T'ang shu; Tung t'ien; Tai ping yü lan*, bk. 79, f12. *Yuen kien lei han*, bk. 232, f. 34.
[4] *Miao Man hoh tchi*, bk. 2, f. 2.
[5] Both quoted in the *Yun-nan t'ung tchi* division of the Southern Barbarians, *Nan man tchi*, bk. 31, 1, f. 4*v*, and bk. 32, 2, f. 13.

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(N.E. Yunnan). And there he made the *Tsuan* characters,[1] which were like the *Ko-tou* writing. After two years' work the number of simple characters and derivates reached a total of 10,840, and composed the *wei shu* or 'standard writing,' which was entrusted to the guardianship of a few selected men." This number 10,840 cannot be that of the characters simple or compound, and looks like the total of words in a book. It would refer to the canon book or books which these people were said to possess,[2] and not to the invention or formation of the writing itself, which the looseness of the Chinese statement might have led us to see implied there. So that this invention or formation remains unascertained, though we know that it was made before the ninth year of our era, as at that time it was known enough to be used on public documents, and was probably so for centuries previously.[3]

A more modern description is much more concise. It is simply stated that they possess written characters like the ancient ones of the Mongols, a statement which means that they are phonetic like the Mongol characters, in contradistinction to the Chinese symbols, which are ideographs.[4]

262. In the MS. which was published by my lamented friend E. Colborne Baber,[5] I have reckoned 450 different compounds[6]; and in the other MSS., which I have not analysed so carefully as the first, I have met with some other compounds which may be resolved into alphabetic elements.

[1] These characters were casually engraved on wood by the Black Lolos, who also made use of notched sticks (*Kiai muh* and *K'i-k'iuen*, on which cf. § 29 above). Cf. *Yun-nan t'ung tchi*, bk. 31, 1, f. 11, and the *Siuen wei tchou tchi*, quoted therein, f. 13. According to the *Ku kin t'u shu tsih tching*, also quoted there, bk. 31, 1, f. 29, the Great Lolo were acquainted with the Tsuan written characters. According to Père Vial, *De la langue et de l'écriture indigènes au Yun-nan*, 1890, p. 18, before the invention of paper (in 105 A.D.), "les Noirs les gravaient sur la pâte de farine durcie, et les Blancs les écrivaient sur la toile de chanvre. Avec le temps la pâte s'est effritée tandis que le chanvre s'est conservé, et c'est pour cela, dit-on, que les Noirs ont perdu leurs livres."

[2] Cf. above. The White Lolos had them, *ibid.* f. 15.

[3] Cf. above, § 156.

[4] Ibid. *Miao Man hoh tchi*, bk. 4, f. 13.

[5] *Researches and Travels in S.W. China* (London, 1882), p. 128. "I have seen bushels of books, but was not allowed to examine them," is the expression of a French missionary who has visited the borders of the Lolos.—*Ibid.* p. 66.

[6] *On a Lolo Manuscript Written on Satin*, p. 2.

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In 1886 Mr. F. S. A. Bourne[1] obtained from a Lolo-man a list of all the characters he could remember, and their total does not go beyond 376, with their sounds added; the whole has been published in a Parliamentary paper (*China*, No. 1, 1888). A missionary among the Lolos, Père Paul Vial, says that their words are strictly monosyllabic, and that they have only 300 monosyllables:[2] taking into account their five tones, it would give some 1500 different words in theory and about 1300 in practice as in Chinese.[3] Père Vial says that there are about 30 per cent. less written characters than spoken words, therefore about 900 signs, or the double of the number we have counted. Moreover some texts give 1840 instead of 10,840 for the total of words in the first work made by O-kou or O-ting, who is also called O-p'i; and Prof. G. Devéria thinks that 1840 was the number of the signs forming the Lolo syllabary.[4] The solution of the difficulty can be expected best from the complete vocabulary which the said missionary is preparing. The Lolo characters are said by him and by Prof. Devéria to be chiefly hieroglyphics.[5] They are adaptations, contractions, and combinations of Chinese characters, and many of them are phonetic, but the phonetic suggestion which I think originary in the writing is almost entirely obliterated.

263. The Lolos, originally from the N.W. of Szetchuen, have extended themselves southwards as far as the north of the province of Kuang-si, and they were driven back in their present quarters of the south of Szetchuen in 778 A.D. by Kolofeng, King of Nantchao.[6]

These notes suggest that the present Lolo writing was invented at the beginning of our era in Yunnan by what seems to have been a Shan tribe, and was the same as that used by the *Tsuan* (Lolo and Lao tribes), who

[1] *Report of a Journey in South-western China*, 1888.
[2] *De la Langue et de l'Ecriture Indigènes au Yunnan*, pp. 9, 17.
[3] In P. Perny's *Grammaire Chinoise*, vol. i. pp. 39-48, the list gives 1283 words.
[4] *La Frontière Sino-Annamite*, 1886, p. 127; *Les Lolos et les Miao-tze*, 1891, p. 8.
[5] Père Vial, *De la Langue*, p. 15; G. Devéria, *Les Lolos*, p. 12.
[6] Cf. *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, §§ 152–155, 195, 229, and 231.

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assumed a political independence in the fourth and following centuries.

264. Another non-Chinese writing is spoken of in Chinese books as belonging to the Miao-tze; "their barbarian characters, like knotted worms, are utterly unintelligible." A Chinese officer, some years ago, reported that the Miao-tze writing numbered six hundred characters.[1] But no reference was given there which could permit us to know exactly what is the writing spoken of. However, as the Chinese writers always make a distinction between the Miao-tze and the Lolos, the probability is that it is not the Lolo writing which is referred to. Prof. G. Devèria has found in a supplement to the *Tung k'i sien tchi* of Luh-tze-yun, entitled *Sien tchi tchi yü* and dated 1683, some specimens of a writing of the Miao jen, which seem to have been collected at Sin-tchan in the S.E. of Kuei-tchou, and which he published in 1891.[2] Like in the Lolo writing, these characters, as far as it is possible to see them through the pencil of the Chinese author, are made up of adaptations and contractions of Chinese characters mixed with other signs.

265. The hope expressed by a missionary[3] that some inscriptions in caves of the Southern Tungking represented the system of phonetic writing known to the Annamites before their adopting the Chinese characters (186 A.D.), does not seem to be fulfilled. Some of these inscriptions have been copied *in situ* for the Director of the Seminaire des Missions Étrangères, who has published them in the *Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise*.[4] They are written in Tsiampa characters, or at least in the same writing that was known there, as proved in comparing them with the Tsiampa inscription of Dambang Dek, published by Mr.

[1] Deka, *Have the Miau-tze a Written Language?* in *Notes and Queries for China and Japan*, 1867, vol. i. pp. 104, 116.

[2] *Les Lolos et les Miao-tze*, pp. 15-17.

[3] *Notice Geographique sur le Tonking meridional*, by Father Montrouziès (*Les Missions Catholiques*, 1876, t. viii.).

[4] *Inscriptions Ghiames de l'Ancien Ciampa*, by Mr. l'Abbé E. C. Lasserteur, vol. ii. 1882–1883, pp. 7–9, and six plates.

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Aymonier.[1] Derived as they are from the Kawi class, they have not, therefore, the antiquity required to have been those which were in use among the Annamites before the second century. What the latter were is still unknown; perhaps they were a *tsuan* syllabary of the Lolo type.[2]

266. Among the *Li*,[3] in the island of Haïnan, the knowledge of writing seems to have been more extensive than is generally supposed. In some parts of the island "the Li women carry a piece of lacquered wood, on which are written several lines of a ballad; the writing, however, is like the wriggling of worms and cannot be deciphered."[4]

The specimen of this writing discovered by Capt. Calder, near Yu-lin-kan, has been published in fac-simile,[5] and the apparent rudeness of the characters confirms the impression that one might imagine that they are written on the surface of rippling water.[6] It seems to me that they are neither more nor less than Tsiampa writing, which would have been brought by the immigrants who went there in former times.

[1] E. Aymonier, *Recherches et Mélanges sur les Chams et les Khmers* (*Cochin-Chine française. Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 10, Saigon, 1881, pp. 167–186). Mr. J. Moura (*Le Royaume du Cambodge*, t. i. pp. 500–501) has published a short text and an alphabet in *Cham* characters, written at his own request by a Prince of Tsiampa. Tsiampa inscriptions from the provinces of Binh Thuan, Thanh hoa, Phu yen, and Binh Dinh, all in the ancient kingdom of Tsiampa, lately deciphered, confirm the Indian civilization of the country, and introduction therein of the various Brahmanical forms of worship, and also of Buddhism. They are written in Sanskrit, and in Tsiampa, of which a dialect is still spoken in Binh Thuan; and they supply the names of some twenty kings, whose names end in *varman*, that flourished during the years from 784 to 1436 A D. Others, not dated, in a much more archaic character, are attributed to the third and fifth centuries. Cf. Abel Bergaigne, *L'Ancien Royaume de Ciampa*, J.A., Janv. 1888. Etienne Aymonier, *Grammaire de la langue Tchame*, Saïgon, 1889; *Première Etude sur les Inscriptions Tchames*, J.A., Jan., Fev. 1891, pp. 1–86; *Les Tchames et leurs Religions*, Rev. d. Religions, 1891, xxiv. 187–237, 262–315; *The History of Tchampa*, Woking, 1893.

[2] Cf. §§ 38, 227–235. Cf. on the Chau-Lao writing, § 177.

[3] They must be distinguished from the *Loi* in the same island, who have no writing whatever, and who speak a different language. Cf. above, § 45; and my work on *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, § 122–126.

[4] B. C. Henry, *Ling nam, or Interior Views of Southern China, including Travels in the hitherto Untraversed Island of Haïnan*, London, 1885, 8vo.

[5] *China Review*, vol. xi. pp. 41–50, J. Calder, *Notes on Haïnan and its Aborigines*.

[6] See above, §§ 45 and 179 n. 3. It is exactly the effect produced by a Karen inscription on a plate of metal, in a writing undecipherable by the Karens themselves.

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We know from the Chinese records that in 986, 987, and 988 A.D. several parties of people from Tsiampa migrated and settled in the Haïnan Island.[1]

267. The hieroglyphical writing of the Mo-sos (above, §§ 64–73) is described in a few words of the Chinese General Geography of Yunnan, published in 1729, quoting the description of King-yuan (in Kuangsi) and Wei-si (in Yunnan).[2] It is a part of a long notice on the Mosos, and runs thus: "They have a writing solely pictorial: for a man they draw a man; for an object they draw the object, to make their writings." This statement is interesting, when considered along with that of P. Desgodins, which we have reported above (§§ 67, 68), and tends to show that these hieroglyphics had a more extensive use than that of magical purposes, the only one known to the missionary.

268. Mo-so soldiers under the command of a Mohammedan general, Nazir-ed-din, aided the Mongols in their attack against the Burmese in 1277 A.D.,[3] or rather between 1255 and 1284.[4] The gradual descent of the Mo-so from the middle region between Tibet and China into Indo-China, is clearly shown by their successive settlements southward. Their earliest and northernmost has been described above. It is that which is represented by the vocabulary published by Father Desgodins, and apparently still the most important and numerous.

Their advance in Southern Yunnan is represented by several stray tribes, known in the Chinese records as La-hu, La-wu, etc.[5] Vocabularies of their dialects are still wanting.

In North Indo-China, on the Muong Lim territory, we meet them under the name of *Mu-tze*, originating from

[1] Ma Tuanlin, *Wen hien t'ung K'ao; Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine*, trans. d'Hervey de St. Denys, vol. ii. p. 547.

[2] *Yunnan t'ung tchi*; division of *Nan Man tchi*, bk. 33, 3, fol. 21, quoting the *K'ing-Yuan Wei-si wen kien-luh.*

[3] Cf. *Du royaume de Mien ou Mien-thien*, extrait de l'histoire Chinoise-Mogolaise, trad. Cl. Visdelou, from the *Kwang-yü ki*, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1883, vol. ii. p. 80.

[4] On these dates cf. Sir Arthur Phayre, *History of Burma*, pp. 54-56.

[5] On these, see the authorities in *China before the Chinese.*

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Wei-yuen in South Yunnan.[1] A vocabulary of 150 words of their language was collected by Doudard de Lagrée, and published by Francis Garnier.[2]

Eastwards of the latter are the *Musur*, who call themselves *La-hu*, likewise originating from China (N.W. Yunnan), and form another southern branch of the same people. They were not known before the last expedition to the Shan States by Mr. Holt Hallett.[3] This traveller has collected about 148 of their words and a score of their sentences. Their settlements are situated between Kiang-hai and Kiang-hsen.

269. The vocabularies of the *Mu-tze* and of the *Musur-Lahu*, compared with that of the *Moso-Nashi*, published above, belong undoubtedly to three dialects of one language; and from the one sentence of the *Na-shi* and those of the *Lahu*, their Ideological Indices are 1, 4, 5, 8, III, namely Tibeto-Burman in their general outlines.[4] Their outside glossarial affinities, which concur to indicate the same position, show moreover that they belong to the Lolo-laka division of that family. The above-mentioned scheme (§ 76) must be extended by the insertion of (1) the name of the "Lawu, Lahu," etc. (S.W. Yunnan) after that of the Moso-Nashi in the northern division, and (2) the name of the Musur-*Lahu* (Kiang-hai-Kiang-hsen, N. Indo-China) after that of the Mu-tse.[5]

270. Another writing hitherto unheard of, and still nameless, of South-West China, appears on a bilingual Mosso MS.

[1] *McLeod's and Richardson's Journeys*, pp. 58–60 (*Parliamentary Papers*, Return 420, East India, 1869).

[2] *Voyage d'Exploration en Indo-China*, vol. ii. pp. 908–916.

[3] *Report on the Railway connection of Burmah and China*, London, s.d., 4to, pp. 221–239. To these vocabularies must be added those collected and published by M. Pierre Lefèvre Pontalis, *Notes sur quelques populations du Nord de l'Indo-Chine*, Paris, 1892, pp. 27–37.

[4] Otherwise, in the arrangement of the words, the genitive precedes the noun (1), while the adjective follows it (4); the object precedes the verb (5), and the subject precedes it; and in the sentence the order is subject, object, verb (III). Cf. *Comparative Ideology*, in *The Academy*, 4 Sept., 1886; and my little work on *Ideology of Languages, and its Relations to History*, the leading ideas of which are: Languages are built on various plans of thought, sentences are autographs of the national intellect, and grammar does mix and evolve under foreign pressure.

[5] It is the MS. 24.898 of the Musée du Trocadéro, in Paris. I am indebted to my friend Prof. Devéria for the description of this MS. and of the written characters it contains.

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of the Musée de Trocadéro in Paris, where it has been sent by a Missionary, Père Delavey. This MS. consists of 18 pages of writing; the four first are almost chiefly Mosso, the nine following are Mosso interlined with these unknown characters, and the five last pages do not contain any Mosso at all. These written characters, of which about two hundred different appear in the MS., consist of fragments, simplifications, or imitations of Chinese symbols.

271. Besides the regular Tibetan, Munipuri, Ahom, Burmese, Cambodian, and Siamese scripts, we have tidings of no less than fourteen different writings in the South-West of China and frontiers:

1) The writing of the Lolos, described above § 38, and §§ 255-263.

2) Of the Mossos, described above §§ 64–73, and §§ 267–269.

3) Of the Yaos (or Shui kia tribe), spoken of in §§ 176 and *add.*

4) Of the Miaotze, § 264.

5) A nameless writing on a bilingual Mosso MS.; § 270.

6) Of the *Chao Lao*, probably derived from the Siamese; § 177.

7) Of the *Peh-y*,[1] related to the Ahom characters; § 175.

8) Of the *Papeh sihfu*[2] on the Shan frontiers derived from Siamese.

9) Of the Hainan islanders, perhaps of Tsiampa origin; § 266.

10) Of the Thaï of Lai-chao; 47 consonants and 18 affixes.[3]

11) Of the Black Thaï; 33 consonants.

12) Of the White Thaï; 33 consonants; much like the preceding.[4]

[1] Cf. T. de L., *Les langues de la Chine avant les Chinois*, 1886, 8, pp. 67, 155. G. Deveria, La Frontière Sino-Annamite, 1886, p. 105. F. W. K. Müller, *Vocabularien der Pa-yi und Pah-poh-Sprachen aus dem Hua-i-yi-yü*, T'oung Pao, Mars, 1892, p. 5, for the Alphabet.

[2] Cf. in P. Lefèvre Pontalis, *Etude sur quelques Alphabets et Vocabulaires Thaïs*, T'oung Pao, Mars, 1892, p. 63, for the reproduction of an original letter.

[3] Alphabet given by P. Lefèvre Pontalis, *o.c.*, p. 56.

[4] I am indebted for specimens of these two writings to Mr. McCarthy, Director of the Trigonometrical Survey in Siam.

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13) Of the Thaï of the Black River; related to that of the *Peh-y*.[1]

14) The *Mang* script of Xien-hung; 35 consonants, derived from the Pali-Cambodgian.[2]

Easter Island writing (§§ 40-43).

272. The suggestion of a South-Indian basis for the writing of the Easter Island inscriptions, surprising as it may be, might have been not altogether unexpected, as we are acquainted, through the traditions of the people, of their coming from the westward some centuries ago.[3] Future discoveries of writing remains in intermediary places eastwards, cannot fail to fill up the gap which requires to be lessened.[4] Many proofs, palæographical and otherwise, have been found all through Indonesia, of the great activity and boldness of the former traders and seafarers of Southern India. Cambodia, Indo-China, Java,[5] Borneo, the Celebes,

[1] Cf. Lefèvre Pontalis, *o.c.*, p. 64.

[2] A table of the Consonants has been given in the valuable article of P. L. Pontalis, p. 59.

[3] The inhabitants of Rapa-nui (or Easter Island) maintain that they come from Oporo or Rapaitî (27° 35′ lat., 144° 20′ long.), and, therefore, on their voyage to their own country, must have touched at Pitcairn's Island, and abandoned it again, for remains of old stone structures are still standing there (Waitz, *Anthropologia*, vol. v.). According to the native tradition they landed, four hundred in number, under a leader or king, Tu-ku-i-u or Tocuyo, who is also called Hotu or Hotu Motua (J. Linton Palmer, *Visit to Easter Island (or Rapa-nui) in* 1868, J.R.G.S., vol. xl. 1870, p. 167). From the time of their arrival to the present day, twenty-two chiefs have succeeded to the government, so that if the average duration of each reign be reckoned at twenty years, the colonization of the island does not date further back than the year A.D. 1400 (Oscar Peschel, *Races of Man*, p. 349). Oporo or Rapa-iti, one of the Low Archipelago, 2300 miles to the westward. *Rapa-nui* or 'Rapa great,' is intended to distinguish it from *Rapa-iti* or 'Rapa little' (Alf. R. Wallace, *Australasia*, London, 1879, p. 520). The natives are fair Polynesians, resembling those of Tahiti and of the Marquesas (*ibid.*). The other name, *Vaïhu*, is perhaps not without connection with those of *Waigui*, a large island N.W. of New Guinea, and of the *Waju*, the most enterprising of the Bugis people. The mean dates of the various Polynesian migrations, according to Prof. de Quatrefages, who has deeply studied the question in several important papers, would be as follows: departure point Buro island, about the Christian era; Marquesas, 400 A.D.; Sandwich, 700 A.D.; Manaïas or Hervey, 1200 A.D.; New Zealand, 1400 A.D.; Easter Island. 1400 A.D. It is interesting to remark here that, according to recent researches of Herr C. B. H. von Rosenberg (*Der Malayische Archipel*, Leipzig, 1879) and of Prof. A. H. Keane (*On the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and inter-Oceanic Races and Languages*, London, 1880, 8vo. pp. 29–31), the Mentawey Islanders, west coast of Sumatra, have preserved in their language many archaisms of the Polynesian type, to which they belong.

[4] Cf. §§ 39, 40, and 175, above.

[5] Java appears in ancient Chinese records under the name of *Ka-ling*, an obvious extension of that of *Kalinga* (S. India).

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and probably also the Philippine Islands bear testimony to the wide expansion of their influence, from the fifth to the eighth century, and probably much earlier. But as the Vengi-Tchalukya writing, which they carried with them in these later times, did not assume its characteristic shape before the above date, we may rest assured that the Polynesians had not been made acquainted with it in their early settlements in Indonesia, previous to the beginning of their migrations eastwards into the Marquesas Islands. It must have been carried in the east by some of their later migrations, which these interesting particulars may, later on, assist in explaining.

273. It cannot be doubted that some traces of an extensive system of pictures will be found amidst the Easter Island inscriptions, such, for instance, as a sort of *dance of fishes* which appears on one of the inscriptions,[1] once phonetically written in the writing of South India origin now lost. The word *Inu*, mentioned above,[2] turns out to be the name of a chief frequently met with.[3] A word often repeated on the tablet I have partially deciphered is *Kajanku* 'speak,' a well-known Polynesian word. Only a few signs are still recognisable, as most of them have been turned into ideographs, and new pictographs have been added to their number.

274. In 1891, since the above paragraphs were written, the *Smithsonian Institution*[4] of Washington published a most

[1] Cf. § 186 above. The statement of § 41 above, "that some persons have ventured to find a connection (of the hieroglyphs) with the flora and fauna of the island," must be altered so far as to say that it is "with a flora and a fauna foreign to the island."

[2] Cf. §§ 41, n. 1, and 186, n. 3, above.

[3] I am indebted to Mr. Park Harrison for the following words from Easter Island, which were collected by his son in 1868: a crater or volcano, *te rano;* head drop or knot, *han* or *pan;* stone or obsidian chisel, *jingi-jingi;* sweet potato, *kumara;* fishing net, *kuponga;* a hook, *rou;* stone, *maia* (=stone image); fish, *hika;* wood, *miro;* water, *vai;* salt, *patai;* hands, *rima;* eyes, *mati;* chest, *humo;* ship, *pahé;* hut, *pau;* path, *pa;* cemetery, *pa-pa-ku;* man, *kamata;* woman, *vahine;* fowl, *moa;* feet, *turi;* cause, *te-vak;* chief's kin (?), *tuku iha;* 1, *ka-tahe;* 2, *ka-roo* or *roa;* 3, *ka-toro;* 4, *ka-ha;* 5, *ka-rama;* 6, *ka-roon;* 7, *ka-heto;* 8, *ka-varoo;* 9, *ka-na;* to-morrow, *apo;* good day, *ko-ho-moi;* go away, *ko-ko-he.* And also for the following names of chiefs: *Inu-meke, Va-kai, Marama; Roa, Miti aké, Mira, Otu-raga, Inu; Iku, Iku kana, Tucu-ja-ja; Tuku itu* (= little king); *Anmoa mana; Tupurrike, Mataiba, Torakay, Raimo-kaki, Gobara, Tepito.*

[4] *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* for 1889. National Museum, Washington, 1891, pp. 447–552, and plates xii.-lx.

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important report on the *Te Pi Te Henua* or Easter Island, by Paymaster William J. Thompson, U.S. Navy. Special attention was paid by the expedition to the antiquities of the island, notably to the huge rude stone (human not gods') statues, five hundred and fifty-five in number, from three to seventy feet in size, and to the incised wooden tablets. Eight of these tablets are reproduced in the plates xxxvi.-xlix. Their legends and stories are given, with translation, in the native language from dictation of one of the patriarchs of the island named Ure Vaeiko, but the actual reading of the texts could not be procured.[1] The first king, Hotu-Matua, is said to have possessed the knowledge of this written language, and to have brought with him to the island sixty-seven tablets containing allegories, traditions, genealogical tables, and proverbs relating to the land from which he had migrated. The knowledge of the written characters was confined to the royal family, the chiefs, their sons, and certain priests or teachers.

275. An officer of the French Navy has sent to Prince Roland Bonaparte, who has kindly communicated them to me, some documents about these tablets.[2] One of these contained a fragment of an analytic description of the thing alleged to be represented by every one of the characters of a text, without any attempt at a translation. A connection between the thing and its sign can be guessed in a few cases only. The different symbols have been numbered and the highest figure quoted is 217,[3] but there are some more.

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[1] It is interesting to remark that some parts of the tablets are said to be written in a forgotten language. Cf. *o.c.*, p. 519.

[2] One was a photograph of the reverse of Tablet *Apa*, pl. xxvii. in Mr. W. J. Thompson's *Report*. A wooden implement in the British Museum is incised with a legend of the same writing; and it does not seem to be old. A tablet reproduced in Mr. Park Harrison's paper *supra*, § 42, n. 2, and that of Dr. A. B. Meyer (*ibid.*), are not amongst those of the above *Report*.

[3] Dr. A. Carroll's *The Easter Island inscriptions and the way in which they are translated or deciphered and read*, pp. 233–253 of The Journal of the Polynesian Society, vol. i. Dec. 1892, is purely speculative. On Polynesian Migrations cf. Dr. Otto Sittig, *Ueber unfreiwillige Wanderungen in Grossen Ocean*, Petermann's Mitt. 1890, Jul. 161–6, Aug. 185–8. R. A. Sterndale, *Asiatic Architecture in Polynesia*, Asiat. Gust. Rev., 1890, x. 340–57; Asiatic Migrations in the South Pacific, *ibid.* 1891, ii. 324–34. E. B. Tylor, *Note on the Asiatic Relations of Polynesian Culture*, J.A.I., 1882, xi. 401–5.

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276. The latest information on the subject comes from a posthumous publication.[1] Mgr. Tepano Jaussen, first Apostolic vicar of Tahiti, interested in the matter by an allusion made to this writing, in Dec. 1864, by the Friar Eugene Eyraud, was successful in getting four or five incised tablets: some years later (*i.e.* after 1875[2]), when natives of Rapa Nui had been transported as coolies to Tahiti, he was enabled to secure the services of a learned indigene named Metoro Taouaoure, who remained with him for a fortnight and deciphered four tablets. The characters were written down with their reading and meaning; and the result was a list of 256 symbols with 280 variants, which were published only last year. The writing of the *Ko-haou-rongorongo*[3] is boustrophedon, and the signs are ideograph. But the ideology of the language and many other characters are still unknown. Mgr. T. Jaussen has learned from the Archbishop Claessens, of Batavia, that similar characters, *fere eadem scriptura*, have been found engraved on stones in the Celebes (cf. *suprà*, § 40), and declares himself convinced that this writing was introduced from the Moluccas a thousand years ago[4]: others say five hundred years ago. The decipherment of tablets will probably settle the question. And we may expect discoveries of other forgotten writings in several parts of Oceania.

[1] *L'Île de Pâques. Historique—E'criture et Répertoire des Signes des Tablettes ou Bois d'hibiscus intelligents*, par Mgr. Tepano Jaussen, Evêque d'Axieri, Premier Vicaire Apostolique de Tahiti (Océanie). Ouvrage posthume rédigé par le R. P. Ildefonse Alazard (de Picpus). Paris, 1893. 32 pp. Reprinted from *Bulletin de géographie*, No. 2, 1893.

[2] In 1875 about 500 persons were removed to Tahiti under contract by Mr. Brander to work in his sugar plantations of Haapape, where 250 died. Cf. William J. Thompson, *l.c.* p. 461, and Tepano Jaussen, *l.c.* p. 6.

[3] General name of the tablets, and translated by Mgr. Tepano Jaussen, "Bois d'hibiscus intelligents." This writing appears to have been more extensively used than was supposed. Cf. W. J. Thompson, *l.c.* pp. 480, 538, etc. An oar of European make has been found covered with that writing.

[4] The Prelate does not give any statement in support of this view, which is at variance with other traditions (cf. our n. 3, p. 185). He gives, p. 3, the names of the alleged thirty successors of Hoatu Matua, the first king of the island. Mr. W. J. Thompson, *l.c.* p. 534, has given a list of fifty-seven successors, while other lists give only twenty-two. The explanation of these discrepancies comes from the contemporaneity of many of these chiefs.

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277. There seems to have existed several variants of the name of the Ænæd Kok region of India, where the Tibetan Mission was sent, about 632 A.D., to learn the art of writing. Al Bîrûnî, writing about A.D. 1000, said "the Indus springs from the mountains of *Onannok*, on the borders of the Turk country."[1] In the name of the Indian kingdom of *Anangungde*, mentioned in the Chinese annals of the Ming[2] dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.), we have apparently another variant of the same name. (Cf. above, § 93.)

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278. The most interesting discovery of late, concerning the history of printing, is the find made last year in Archduke Rainer's collection of Papyri.[3] It consists of "a strip of paper, 42 centimeters by 8·5, containing Arabic prayers, among them one by a companion of the Prophet Abû Dujâna. *It dates from the ninth century.* The whole text, as well as some marginal ornaments, *have been printed from a block of wood.* It thus appears that the art of block printing was known to the Arabs more than five hundred years before it came into use among the Western nations. Perhaps we may assume that the Arabs received it from the Chinese and communicated it, like several other elements of civilization, to their European neighbours."[4] This suggestion seems less stretched[5] than that put forward by Pauthier[6] of Marco

[1] Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans relatifs à l'Inde*, p. 117.

[2] *Ming she.* E. Bretschneider, *Chinese Intercourse with the Countries of Central and Western Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, part i. The learned geographer observes that this name of *Anangungde* bears a strong resemblance to *Anagunde*, which was the name of the magnificent capital of the kingdom of *Bisnagar.* The ruins of Anagunde are found on the bank of the *Tungabhadra*, an affluent of the Krishna.

[3] Cf. Report of Prof. Karabacek, Drs. Wessely and Krall, in the *Neue Freie Presse* of October 23, 1885.

[4] Cf. a letter of Prof. G. Bühler in *The Academy*, No. 705, 7 Nov., 1885.

[5] Klaproth, in his *Mémoire sur l'invention de la boussole*, had already remarked that printing might have been known in Europe some 150 years previous to its discovery, had the European taken the trouble of reading the Persian historians; as the Chinese process of printing was clearly described in *Djemma'a el-tewarikh* by Raschid-ed-din, who achieved this immense work about 1310 A.D.

[6] In his Introduction (p. lxxviii) to his learned edition of Marco Polo, the late G. Pauthier had collected authorities to show that M. Polo had brought back from China not only specimens of the paper money, but also some Chinese printing wood-blocks. Hence his suggestion recorded above.

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Polo bringing home some printing wood-blocks from China to Venice, which would have been seen by Guttenberg, who married a Venetian wife of the Contarini family.

279. Although the new suggestion has against it the five hundred years which elapsed between the beginning of European printing by wood-blocks, and the Arabic knowledge instanced for the first time by this discovery, later instances show that it was not forgotten in the meantime. That the Arabs should have possessed the knowledge of the Chinese printing in our ninth century is quite at a pace with the historical facts. Printing in China was in use long before, as we have seen above. The dates of 595 and 717[1] recorded in Chinese annals are those of great printing enterprise under the care of the government for the diffusion of Chinese literature, and the foreigners then in relation with China could not have ignored the fact. Persians maintained a regular and brisk intercourse with China in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Arab merchants had frequent relations through their sea-trade; and the chief port of Kan-fu, the ancient and now-embedded port of Hangtchou, not far south of Shanghaï, was the rendezvous of so many foreigners, that at the sack of the city one hundred and twenty thousand Mahommedans, Jews, Christians, and Magians or Parsees were destroyed, according to the narrative of Abu Zaïd in 877 A.D.[2]

280. Printing was invented about 330 A.D. in the small state of *Shuh*[3] (Szetchuen), then independent from China, and ruled by a native dynasty of the pre-Chinese race (called *Lin-kiun Man*) from 304 to 347 A.D.[4] The invention was the

[1] In the latter year orders were given for printing the writings supposed to be lost, and nine years afterwards the work was completed in 48,000 sections. Cf. the *Kang-kien-ta-tch'uen*, bk. 38, f. 16; in H. C. Hopkins, *The Six Scripts*, p. 36.

[2] Cf. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, vol ii. p. 414.

[3] This dynasty is variously denominated in the Annals, viz.: *Cheng*, from the name of the capital Cheng-tu, *Hou Han*, and *Hou Shuh*. The latter name *Shuh* is that of Szetchuen. In the *King y K'ao*, kiv. 293, fol. 14, a quotation of the *Liu-pi hiun* says that printed books of education were used in the small state of Shuh.

[4] On this dynasty cf. the notice on the *Liu Kiun Man*; Ethnographie de Matouanlin, tr. D'Hervey St. Denys, ii. 50–52.

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outcome of a slow progress combined with the early use of seals engraved reversely, and the recent invention of paper. Fac-similes of Imperial autographs had been engraved in China since 76 of our era and in 265, while correct texts of the classics had been engraved on stone in 175, 240, and 265 A.D.,[1] permitting blackened squeezes where the writing appears in white. Under the enlightened government of the non-Chinese barbarian Li-hiung at Tcheng-tu, a scholar named *Hiang-lang Kiuto*, then 80 years of age, prepared himself wooden tablets for printing.[2] The new invention permitted printed books to circulate in the State; and when the Chinese EASTERN TSIN of Nanking conquered the country in 347 they became acquainted with the new progress, but the Government did not take action in the matter and little attention was paid to it. Greatly different was the reception made to printing in the North. A printing hall was established in the Lin-tchi palace of Tchang-'an, where eighty workers (because of the age of the inventor) were engaged in editing and publishing. Ming-Ti (558-561), the second Emperor of the NORTHERN TCHOU, had studied there in his youth.[3] However, no formal recognition of the art of printing occurred before the decree of 593, by Wen-ti of the SUI dynasty, for the printing of recovered portraits and books[4]; and thus it has happened that so important an art was not spoken of before the latter date.[5]

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281. The total number of writings and alphabets which have been or are still in use is not ascertained. While in Carl Faulmann's *Das Buch der Schrift*, 1880, some *two hundred and twenty* writings, including the Greek, Latin, and modern varieties have been exemplified, Dr. Isaac Taylor in the

[1] Cf. on this, T. de L., *The Oldest Book of the Chinese*, 1892, vol. i. p. 103.
[2] *Shuh tchi*, T.P.Y.L., 618, 4.
[3] *Heu Tchou Shu*, T.P.Y.L., 618, 4 *v*.
[4] *Yen luh Kien*, Journal Asiatique, Avr.-Mai, 1868, p. 411.
[5] Stanislas Julien, *Documents sur l'Art d'imprimer*, and G. Pauthier, *Mémoires sur l'Antiquité . . . Chinoises*, 1868, knew only the date of 593. Cf. also *suprà*, p. 63, n. 3.

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extensive work on *The Alphabet, an Account of the Origin of Letters*, 1883, has noticed two hundred and forty-seven alphabets and writings. In the present work, which concerns almost chiefly Central and Eastern Asia, more than 450 embryo writings, writings, and scripts have been recorded, and the matter is not exhausted.

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ADDITIONS AND EMENDATIONS.

Page 8, §7. "L'usage de graver les inscriptions en relief que l'on considerait jusqu'à ces dernières années comme une marque de basse époque, remonte par une tradition continue, jusqu'aux origines de l'épigraphie Araméenne." (Ph. Berger, *Histoire de l'Ecriture dans l'Antiquité*, p. 211.) The Aramaic inscription of Zindjerli, of the eighth century, and the state of Teima, 500 B.C., of North Arabia, are written in relief like the pseudo-Hittite inscriptions and those of South Arabia.

Page 15, n. 2. The *pron* (*lit.* knot) or quippos of Chili were not introduced before the fifteenth century. Cf. *Journal des Savants, l.c.* p. 468.

Page 35, §49. On the derivation of the Chinese writing from that of Chaldea and Elam, cf. T. de Lacouperie, *The Old Babylonian Characters and their Chinese Derivates*, 1888, and the approving review of Prof. Sayce, in *Nature*, June 7th, 1888; T. de Lacouperie, *Chips of Babylonian and Chinese Palæography*, 1888; *The Loan of Chaldeo-Elamite Culture to Early China*, 1892; C. J. Ball, *The New Accadian*, 1889; *Ideograms Common* to Accadian and Chinese, 1891; *The Accadian Affinities of Chinese*: pp. 677–728 of Trans. Ninth Congress of Orientalists, 1892; J. Edkins, *Cuneiform Writing in China*, 1890, and *The Ancient Tadpole Writing was Cuneiform*, 1891. Two Cuneiform inscriptions on rocks and a cylinder in Cuneiform have been found in Badakshan, therefore on the inland trade route to China.

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Page 38, n. 4. Cf. on this point the demonstration made by Dr. J. Edkins, of the growth of Chinese tones, in several of his works. Cf. also T. de Lacouperie, *Le non-Monosyllabisme du Chinois Antique l'ecart entre les langues écrite* et parlée d'aujourd'hui et l'histoire de la langue écrite, Paris, 1889; *The Languages of China before the Chinese*, 1887, §§ 204 n., 235–9; and Raoul de la Grasserie, *Des Recherches Recentes de la Linguistique relatives aux langues de l'extrême Orient*, principalement d'après les travaux de M. T. de Lacouperie, 1891; and Alfred Maury in *Journal des Savants*, 1889.

Page 39, n. 2. In the *Shi-Ming* or Name-Explainer, by Liu-Hi, about 175 A.D., some sounds of characters were given by the *fan* (later *fan-tsieh*) process, as shown by quotations in the *K'ang-hi tze tien*. Cf. for instance Kwang, cl. 53+12, fol. 29.

Page 40, § 55. The Chinese writing exhibits in its history eight successive styles, viz.: (1) *Ku-wen*, the oldest, which itself shows a gradual transformation; (2) *Ta tchuen* of 820 B.C.; (3) *Tchuen* of 770–227 B.C.; (4) *Siao tchuen* of 227 B.C.; (5) *Li-shu* of 212 B.C.; (6) *Tsao shu* of 88 A.D.; (7) *Heng shu* of 165 A.D.; and (8) *Kiai shu* of 379 A.D., the present square character.

Eight different writings have been derived from the Chinese, viz.: (1) *Lolo* in A.D. 9; (2) *Pu shui* of later date; (3) *Miao-tze*, still later; (4) Large *K'i-tan* of 920; (5) Siberian Mirrors; (6) *Si-Hia Tangut* of 1030; (7) Large *Djurtchen* of 1119; (8) Small *Djurtchen* of 1145. Chinese scribes and artists have often indulged in making ornamental and fancy styles of writing for legends and inscriptions; and the fashions inveigled into a few characters have been afterwards extended to many more symbols. Such, for instance, was done when the Elegy upon the City of Mukden, composed by the Emperor Kienlung, was transcribed into thirty-two different styles of writing, two of which only being actual styles of historical value. The Mandshu version of the Elegy was also written into

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thirty-two fanciful styles of Mandshu characters in imitation of the Chinese. An edition of the *Thousand-Character Classic* contains each couplet of eight words in a different form of character, making 125 styles of type. The *Wei lun shu* of Yü-yuen, of the T'ang dynasty, or before, contains a list of 120 different styles of writing (*T.P.* 748, 2) known to the Chinese: many belong to these fanciful styles.

Page 52, n. 1. M. Woodville Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, 1891, says that "*Kä-cha ma she* is a common Tibetan expression for 'I don't understand.'"

Page 58, n. 5. In a special paper on *The Djurtchen of Mandshuria, their name, language, and literature*, 1889, I have attempted to show that the name of this was that which the title of the paper suggests.

Page 67, n. 1. Cf. on *The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet*, the J.A.S.B. 1889, vol. lvii. pp. 41–8, pl. i.–ix.

Page 75, §§ 108–109. Fresh discoveries on the subject by Dr. F. Hirth, *The Chinese Oriental College*: Journ. China Br.R.A.S. 1887, pp. 203–223, had led me to further research, embodied in a special paper, *The Djurtchen of Mandshuria, their name, language, and literature*: J.R.A.S. 1889, pp. 433–460, with the following results:

The large characters of the Jutchih or Djurtchen, made, not in 1129 but in 1119, about a thousand in number, and partly known and deciphered, are represented by the Inscription of Liang-kiun Salikhan.

The small characters of the same, made in 1145, and still undeciphered, are represented by a vocabulary of 881 words in the *Hua-Y yh yü* (now in Berlin Library), and by the inscription of Yen-t'aï.

Page 78, n. 2. Prof. Fritz Hommel has upheld his views in his learned paper, *Der Babylonische Ursprung der Ägyptischen Kultur*, München, 1892, 68 pp. Prof. Norman Lockyer, *The Dawn of Astronomy*, 1894, p. 371, has suggested on astronomical reasons that about 6400 B.C. the building of Egyptian temples may

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have begun by a swarm from the south, and that about 5400 B.C. a swarm appears to have come into Egypt from North Babylonia. On the probable introduction of writing in Babylonia by the Persian Gulf, cf. my previous papers: On the *Pre-Akkadian Writing*: J.R.A.S. 1886, p. 548; *The Pre-Akkadian Writing*: The Academy, 13th Nov. 1886; *The Origin of the Babylonian Writing from the Persian Gulf*: J.R.A.S. 1888, p. 316; *The Kushites, who were they?* B. and O.R. Dec. 1886.

Page 88, n. 2. After 1240 the Mongol text of the *Yuan tchao pi she*, secret history of the Yuan dynasty, written in Uigur characters, was also written in Chinese characters, used syllabically, with conventional signs for the original sounds not known in Chinese. Signs reading *ehr, lo, lu, li, lé, la,* with 舌 tongue added from the left, were read *r, ro, ru,* etc.; for *go,* the sign *kho* with a little sign 中 middle; for *kha,* the sign *kho* with the addition of a little 口 mouth. To show that the sign ought to be read as a separate consonant, which the Chinese language does not allow of, a similar sign, one half the size of the sign in the text, was added to it. Cf. H. H. Howorth, *Two Early Sources for Mongol History*: J.R.A.S. 1883, vol. xv. p. 352, and Ed. Bretschneider, *Notices of the Mediæval Geography*, 1876, p. 14.

In modern native dictionaries of foreign languages, such as the *Ts'ing wen kien* (of 1708), Chinese characters are used without any additional signs to represent single letters. Thus the symbols 阿 a, 尼 n, 伊 i, 鴉 y, 阿 a, stand for Aniya, the Mandshu word for *year.* In the *Si yü tung wen tchi* (of 1763), the Mongolian *k'uitun* "cold," is spelt with two groups of three characters. This kind of spelling is called *san-koh-ts'ieh-yn,* or spelling by the collocation of three characters, from the frequent occurrence of triliteral syllables. Cf. J. Edkins, *Mandarin Grammar,* 1864, p. 79.

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Page 94, § 135. The probabilities are in favour of Sumatra-Java, which, as known at present, were not separated in antiquity (cf. my *Western Origin*, p. 113). Christ. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 1040 ff., says that the date of first establishments in Java is doubtful. But at the end of the second century B.C. the Greek Jambulus described rather accurately, as a writing of that island, the Kawi syllabary originary from India. Cf. Jacquet, *Nouv. Journal Asiatique*, vii. 29; W. v. Humboldt, Ueber die Kavi sprache auf Java, i. 96; Lassen, *o.c.*, ii. 1059; Lenormant, *Origines*, i. 489.

Page 97, § 139. Separate letters and also names of five symbols of that script have been found in Egypt, at Illahun and Gorub, of about 1600 B.C. and perhaps as early as 2600 B.C. The latter date is contested. Cf. W. St. Chad Boscawen, *Notes on Pottery from Egypt: Bab. and Or. Record*, Oct. 1889, iii. 259 f.; *Schliemann's Excavations*, by Dr. C. Schuchhardt, 1891, p. 73. Cf. Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art Antique*, vol. v. pp. 9, 98, 217, 311; vol. vi. pp. 208, 985, and the references therein. Syllabic characters of that script by four or five signs combined, inscribed on the handles of Mykenæan vases found in the excavations of a necropolis in Argolis, have been discovered by Signor Tsoundas. Moreover, some interesting discoveries have just been made in Central Crete by Mr. Arthur Evans. The sites of two hitherto unknown primæval cities have been found, one with an acropolis and a votive grotto containing Mykenæan idols; the other at Goulas, with stupendous ruins, perhaps those of what was once the principal centre of the Mykenæan world, also with an acropolis and the remains of a primitive palace. Traces were also discovered of the Mykenæan system of writing, which seems to have been closely parallel with the Hittite and pictographic systems. Another system, apparently alphabetic, has been discovered, approaching more nearly to the Cypriote syllabary, the objects being reduced to their linear forms.

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Page 97, n. 4. Mr. Joachim Ménant, *Eléments du syllabaire Héteen*, 1892, p. 17, has pointed out that Dr. Hayes Ward, in 1873, foresaw the origin of the Cypriote script in his paper *List of Hamathite Hieroglyphs compared with Cypriote Characters*, in *Second Statement of American Palestine Exploration Society*, p. 19 *sq.*

Page 101, §§ 145–146. On this coin cf. my paper *Une Monnaie Bactro-Chinoise bilingue du* 1er *siècle avant notre ère*: C. R. Acad. Inscr. 1890, and my additional remarks in *Western Origin*, p. 226, n. 947, where I suggest the date of 51 B.C.

Page 102, n. 2. On the names of these writings cf. the note of Mr. Emile Senart, *Mahâvastu*, i. 483, which, I regret, I have not been able to use.

Page 108, n. 4. Sung-yun, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim (A.D. 518) reports having seen an inscription which the tradition attributed to the Buddha himself. Cf. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i. cviii.

Page 111, n. 5. Cf. also *The Origin of the Cuneiform Persian Alphabet*, by A. H. Sayce: Z. of Keilsch, 1884, i. 19–27; and J. Oppert, in Journal Asiatique, 1874, p. 238–245.

Page 113, § 155. Prof. G. Bühler, *A New Variety of the Southern Maurya Alphabet*, 28th May, 1892, remarks that it shows by its peculiar system of 200 B.C. that several varieties of that script existed, and, therefore, that writing in India was practised for centuries before Chandragupta.

Page 115, § 156 *b*. Historical evidence collected in my *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization*, §§ 213–218 and notes, shows that Hindu Rishis, coming on the trail of the traders, had come in Szetchuen, and settled along the Min river, about 575 B.C., if not before.

Page 121, n. 2. The *Wei* were acquainted with the art of writing before A.D. 443, as shown by the following circumstance related in F. Hirth, *Alte Kaiser-gräber in Central Asien*: Z. f. Ethnographie, 1890; Verhandl. p. 53. In 443, envoys from the *Wu-lo-hu* (inhabiting

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the banks of the Onon and Kerulon rivers) reported to the Emperor Wei Tai Wu-ti that they had discovered, N.W. of their country, tombs of ancient princes of the reigning family of Wei. Hearing this, Tai Wu-ti sent one of his ministers to engrave inscriptions on these monuments. It was in 494 that they took possession of Lohyang.

Page 126, n. 4. Should we trust the figures of the coins as given in the Chinese work, the Okto script and coins would be some of those described by M. Ed. Drouin, in his *Monnaies Turco-Chinoises*. Okto has been mentioned as one of the buried cities of Turkestan.

Page 129, § 176. Among the Yaos of the Laocian States, on the Chinese frontier, Mr. Vacle, of the Mission Pavie, has been able to get three of their manuscripts called *Pang-pu*, but *they are written in ordinary Chinese*. The *Pang-pu* books of the Yaos of Kuei-tchou, however, are positively stated in the Chinese documents of the last century to be written in the *tchuen*, or seal character; and Prof. G. Devéria, *Les Lolos*, p. 15, concludes, as I have done, that the MS. sent by Mr. Bourne was one of them. Cf. also Pierre Lefèvre Pontalis, *Notes sur quelques populations du Nord de l'Indo-Chine*, 1892, p. 17.

Page 137, n. 2. Cf. an elaborate memoir by Colonel Garrick Mallery, on the *Pictographs of the North American Indians*, in the Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, 1882–3. And also C. B. Brown, *Indian Picture Writing in British Guiana*: J.A.I. 254–6 and 4 pl. J. Whitfield, *Rock Inscription in Brazil*, ibid. iii. 114. Berthold Seeman, *On the Resemblance of Inscriptions found on Ancient British Rocks with those of Central America*, Mem. Anthrop. Soc. ii. 277–83.

Page 137, n. 3. Cf. William Bollaert, *Introduction to the Palæography of America*: Mem. Anthrop. Soc. i.169–95; *Maya hieroglyphic Alphabet of Yucatan*, ii. 46–55; *Examination of Central American Hieroglyphics of*

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Yucatan by the recently discovered Maya Alphabet, iii. 288–315; *On Ancient Peruvian Graphic Records*, iii. 351–59. D. G. Brinton, *The Graphic System and Ancient Records of the Mayas*: Contribution to North American Ethnology (1883). The author enumerates the unsuccessful efforts at interpretation made by Abbé Brasseur, W. Bollaert, Cte. de Charencey, Allen, De Rosny, Rau, Schultz-Sellack, J. Forstemann, Holden, and S. Thomas. He says that it was a composite system, containing pictures (figuras), ideograms (caractères), and phonetic signs (letras). In a series of papers published in *Science* of New York, 1892, Prof. Cyrus Thomas claims to have discovered a key to the decipherment of the Maya writing, based upon the statements of Bishop Landa, and finds it consisting of ideograms and of phonetic characters. The Aztec script is altogether different from the Maya; it consisted at first of rebus in combination with ideograms, and afterwards the conventional image was employed to represent the sound of its first syllable. Cf. D. G. Brinton, *l.c.* The Mangues, on the shores of Lake Managua, in Nicaragua, were acquainted with a form of hieroglyphic or picture-writing. Cf. D. G. Brinton, *The Güegüence*, Philadelphie, 1883, p. viii.

Page 138, n. 5. Cf. also *Notes on relics of the Sign and Gesture Language among the Malagasy*, by Rev. James Sibree: Journ. Anthrop. Inst. 1883, vol. xiii. pp. 174–184.

Page 141, n. 5. A symbolical letter of the same kind has been described in Sam. Crowther, *Journal of an Expedition up the Niger and the Tshadda Rivers*, 1885, pp. 169–70.

Page 149, n. 8. M. P. Lefèvre Pontalis, *Note sur l'Écriture des Indo-Chinois Khas*: L'Anthropologie, Mars-Avril, 1892, says: They keep their accounts, or send their messages, by means of small pieces of bamboo, marked with notches which are made at closer or longer intervals, according to the signification that has been

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Page 167, l. 31. *Add.*: Or a greater knowledge of the delicateness of the Tartar vowels and consonants than we could expect.

Page 167, § 242. Prof. W. Radloff, of St. Petersburg, with the alphabet deciphered by Prof. Vilh. Thomsen, has read and translated *Die Alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei.* Erste Lieferung: *Die Denkmäler von Koschozaidam*, 83 pp. in January and March, 1894, where he has given the text, transcription, and translation. It concerns the monument built in 731 to the Prince Kül-Tegin.

Page 170, n. 6. Another alphabet, also derived from India, has been found in fragments of MSS., birch-bark, leather, and paper, sent in 1892 from Kashgaria by M. Petrowski, and from Ladak by the Rev. Weber. Cf. the *Zapiski* of the Russian Society of Archæology, VII. 1892, VIII. 1893; Rudolph Hoernle, *The Weber Manuscripts, another collection of Ancient Manuscripts from Central Asia*, J.A.S.B. lvii. 1893, part 1.

Page 185, n. 5. The name of Java as *Ho-ling* is known much earlier in the Chinese Records, and under the form of *Hu-liang* it is mentioned in the *She ki* (xxviii. 44), where it is proposed to identify it with one of the five fairy islands, spoken of in Shantung by traders of the Indian Ocean. Cf. *Western Sources of the Early Chinese Civilization*, p. 113.

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PLATE I.—MO-SO MS. *(Gill)*.

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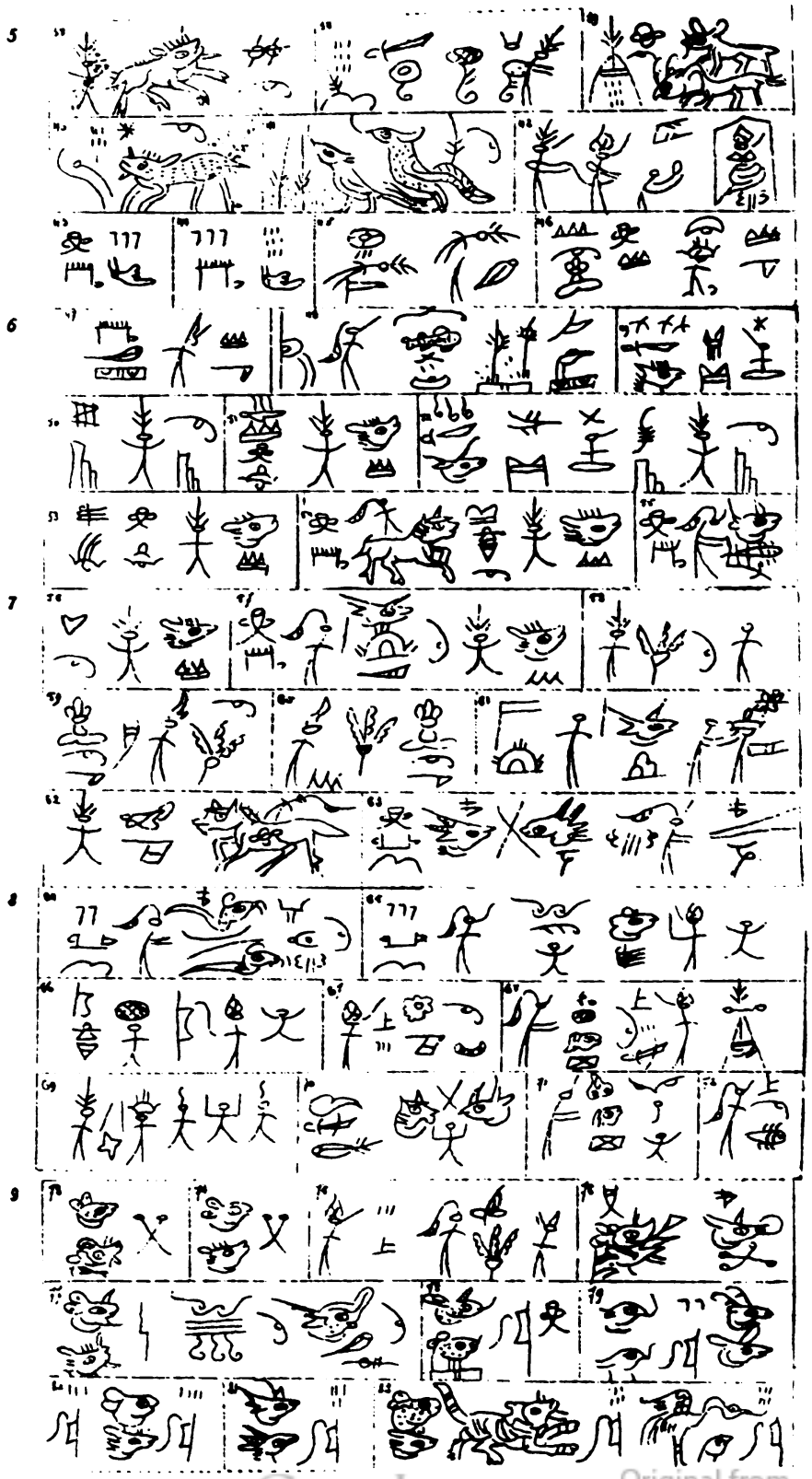

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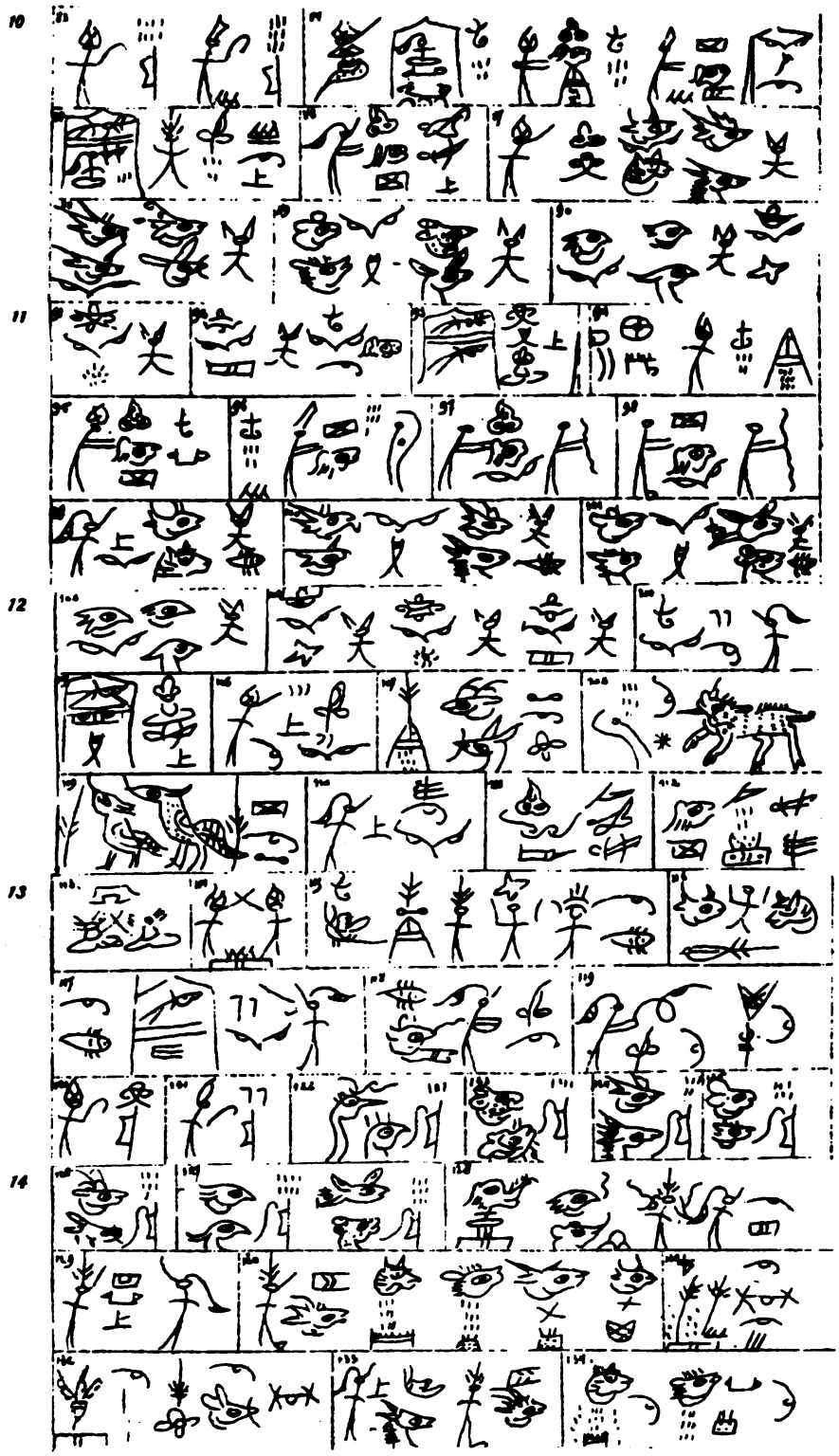

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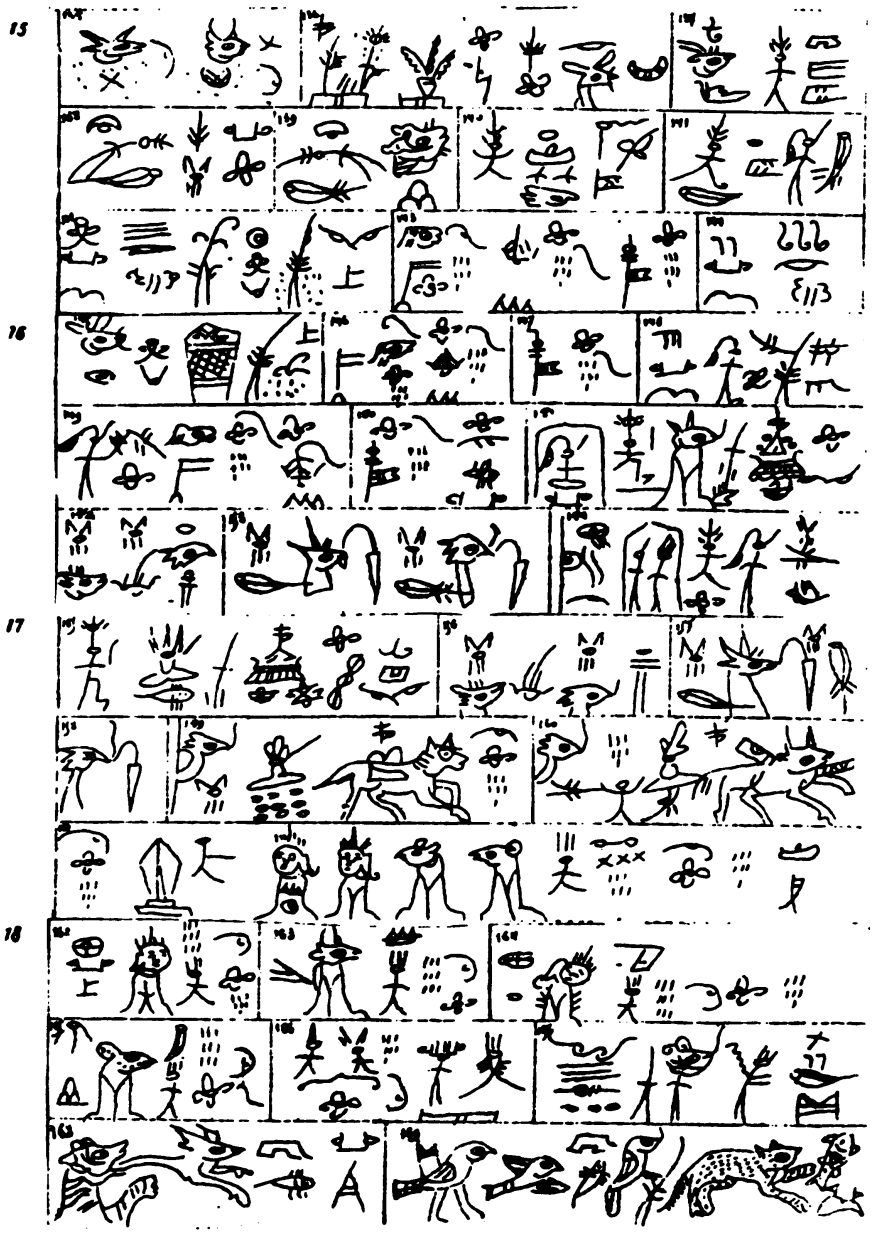

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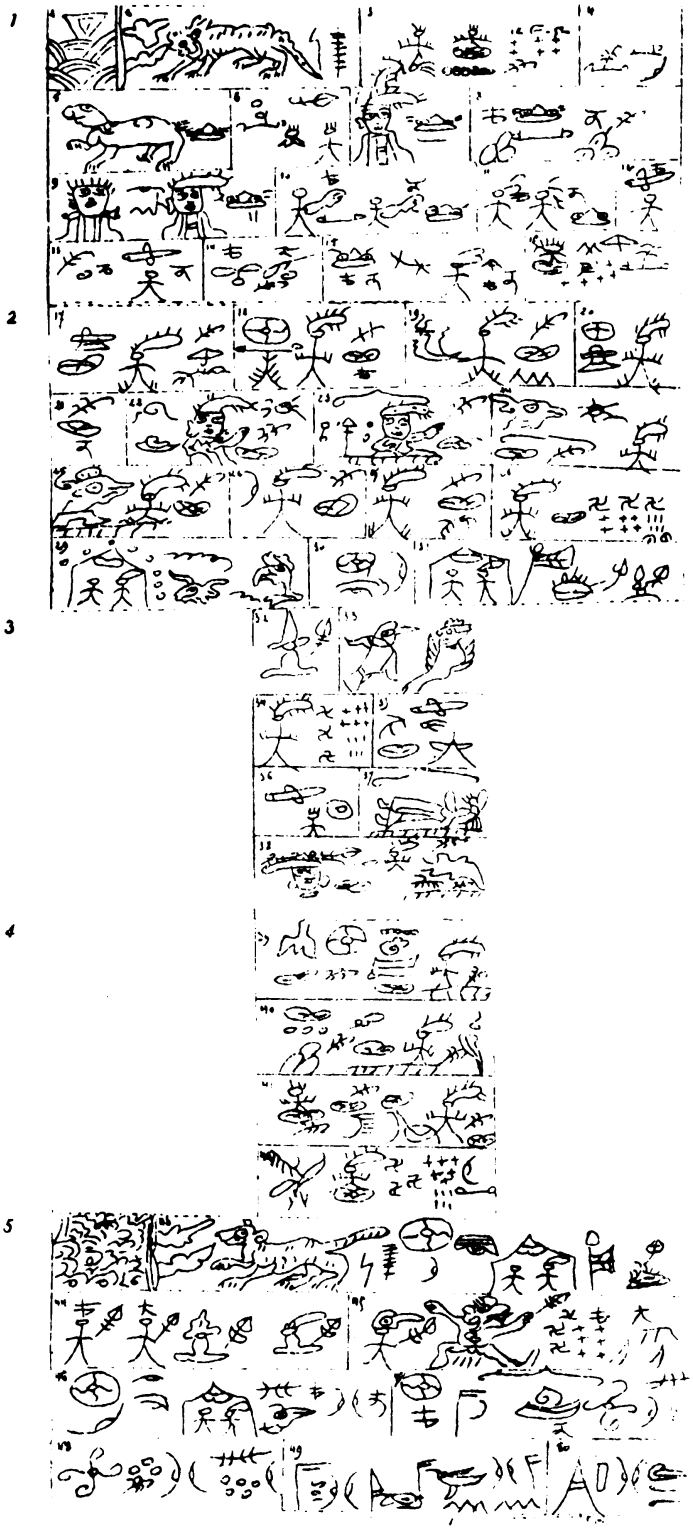

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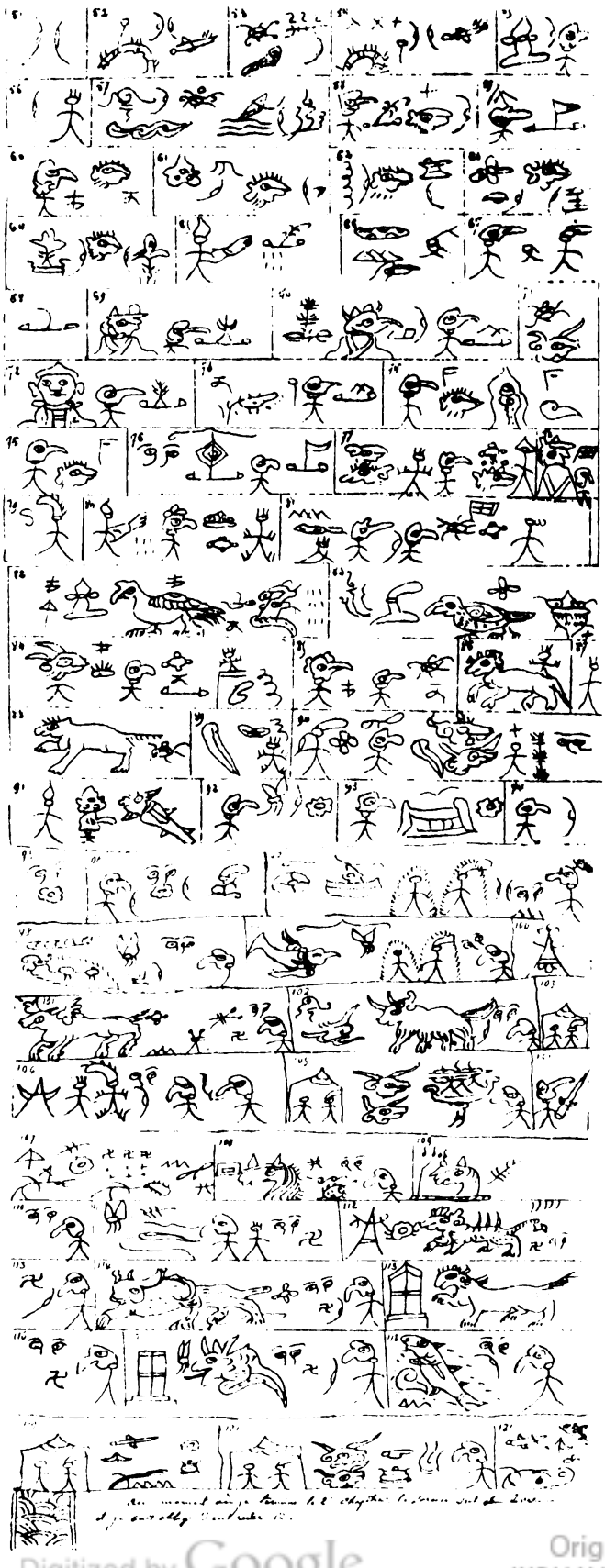

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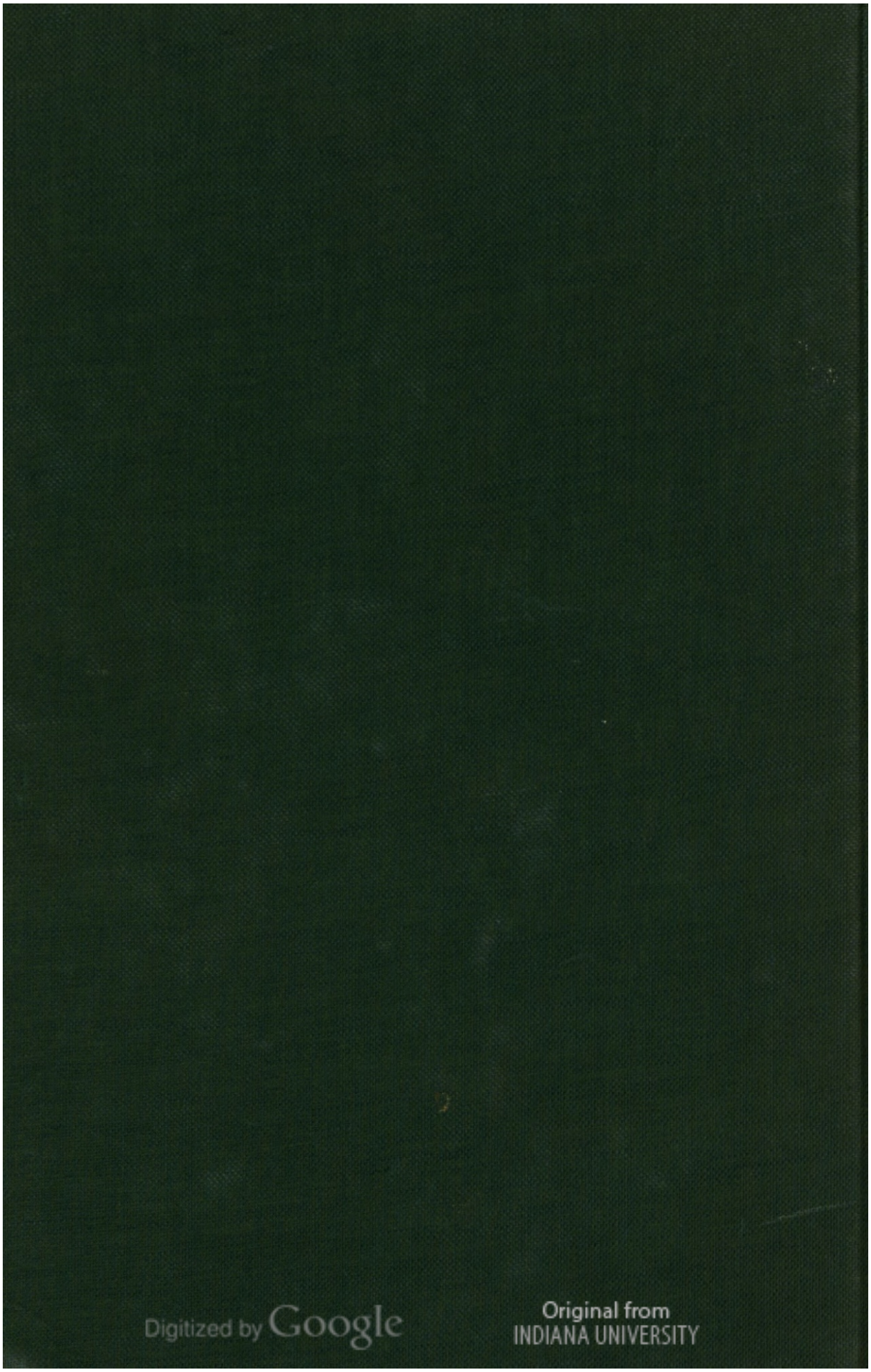
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